

BLACK SKIN, WHITE MONEY:  
THE TRANSATLANTIC PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO RECOLONIZE WEST AFRICA  
1786 - 1863

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at  
The University of Texas at Arlington  
May 2020

Arlington, Texas

Supervising Committee:

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## ABSTRACT

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Previous scholarship has mostly left the story of recolonization of former slaves and Free People of Color to West Africa in the dustbin of history. These studies also have artificially separated the multiple failed attempts into the story of either Sierra Leone or Liberia. This dissertation, for the first time, looks comprehensively and comparatively at the transatlantic propaganda campaign that accompanied each wave of support and resulting failures and the part it played in the success of the abolition movement. Ever marching westward from its London roots, recolonization's boosters repeatedly tried to build on an imagined community that had little to do with the realities in West Africa. At its heart, the propaganda campaign offered a chance to avoid the perceived problems with a bi-racial society and the expected economic collapse with the end of slave-based capitalism. Recolonization, rather than integration, was the perceived solution to the fears of the destruction of the white race at the hands of their black-skinned countrymen. However, the men and women at the heart of the migration scheme consistently showed their

unwillingness to continue to be used as pawns. Understanding the full scope of recolonization shows that for both the few that went to Africa and the majority that stayed behind, white colonization schemes proved useful for creating a space for black-skinned people to negotiate autonomy in the white-dominated Atlantic World. While each attempt had mixed success at best at relocating people to West Africa, recolonization played an indispensable role in advancing support for the cause of abolition even with each failure.

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated at heart to the memory of my parents:

W. Thomas and Shirley Degges

At least partly to honor my parents, several individuals have contributed significant logistical, financial, and/or emotional support as I have attempted to complete this dissertation:

Miranda Todd-Woerther

Veronica W. Finucane

Ronald C. Degges

Charre D. Todd

Serving as inspiration for this work is a lifetime of people I have watched, in one way or the other, fight, with varying degrees of success, the continued racial stratification of the English-speaking Transatlantic world.

To all of you,

Thank you.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank everybody who contributed to the successful completion of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Imre Demhart, for all of his guidance and input throughout the process. His ability to open my eyes to new ways of looking at maps serves as an integral part of this dissertation. I would also like to thank the members of my Dissertation Committee. Dr. Kenyon Zimmer has provided me extensive professional guidance throughout my graduate career and shared his wealth of knowledge on the transatlantic world and migrations that is so pivotal to this work. Dr. Christopher Morris, from my graduate class on slavery in the Atlantic world to the final edits to this dissertation, has stepped in to force me to deal with uncomfortable questions and deepen my research across multiple fields. Dr. Sam Haynes introduced me too and guided me as I sought to look at the “special relationship” between the United States and Great Britain that reaches past mere government actions and deep into the economic, cultural, and social fabric that continues to inform our world.

This work would not have been possible without the support of The University of Texas at Arlington. The university provided me with financial support through my assistantship and as well as separate funding from the College of Liberal Arts for a research trip to Great Britain. With the diverse historiographies involved in this dissertation, many professors contributed through lectures, conversations, and suggestions to this work. From the department here at the University of Texas at Arlington, I would like to thank Dr. Cristina Salinas, Dr. David Lefevor, Dr. Steven Maizlish, Dr. David Narrett, Dr. Charles Travis, and Dr. Kim Breuer for adding elements to my approach that strengthened this work. Dr. John Garrigus, from the beginning of the graduate school process, continually introduced me to new ways of thinking about questions of race, empire, and the social fabric of the Atlantic world. None of this would have been

possible without the foundation laid by Dr. Steven Reinhardt early in my career who taught me to always look to the text for the answers. I would also be remiss not to mention the invaluable help provided by Dr. Stephanie Cole. Through her diligence and positive exploration of the craft of history, she has made me a better teacher and, in the process, improved my own work.

Through feedback on conference presentations, classes, and private meetings, two professors now emeritus stand out for the perspectives they provided that are integral to this work. The genesis for this project came from a class on the history of West Africa with Dr. Alusine Jalloh. Dr. Jalloh, from that point on, made himself available for discussion about the complexity of transatlantic connections with Africa and the English-speaking western world for the last five hundred years. As the project took shape, the former chair of the History department here at the University of Texas at Arlington, Dr. W. Marvin Dulaney provided a deeper understanding and direction for this dissertation. Through his own work and feedback on specific aspects of this project, he led me to a way of thinking and an enormous body of scholarship on the rich and diverse history of African Americans.

The research for this work was made possible by an indispensable army of archivists across the United States and Great Britain. First and foremost is the direct and indirect help of Brenda McClurkin, the head of Special Collections here at the university. On top of creating an open and helpful environment for research, she made pieces of research from her own collection available that helped to bring unknown figures from the past that deserve more attention than is given in this work. The archivists from the Herefordshire Archives and Records Centre allowed me considerable latitude in digging into another of the lesser-known historical figures and *The Friends of Africa* journal so crucial to understanding the continuing involvement of Great Britain in recolonization after British emancipation. I would also like to thank the staff of the library of

the Society of Friends, based at Friends House in London, for their week of patience with the American, as I delved into the economic motivations behind many past Quakers.

Other researchers have added undeniable parts to this work. Almost to a person, each of my fellow cohorts here at the University of Texas at Arlington provided sources they ran across or a different perspective on what I thought I knew. For this, I thank each of them. I must also thank other historians that helped through multiple discussions in multiple conferences and private discussions to formulate and add sources to this work, such as Roy P Wisecarver III, who became a friend because we always disagreed on small points. Other researchers outside of the university have also provided me with other material, some like independent British researcher Karen Hemmingham, did so without realizing how valuable the lead they gave was to my own research. Others added almost accidentally to the depth of this project, such as Clark Feiser of the Natchez Chamber of Commerce.

Along with the indispensable critiques of my committee, others have helped in the editing process of this dissertation. Dr. Lydia Towns, a budding expert on empires in the Atlantic world, willingly answered questions about the process and even edits to certain portions of this work. I would also like to extend a special thank you to another student of African American History who tirelessly looked at each and every chapter of this dissertation, Ahmed Foggie. He helped to make this work more articulate but also was willing to have almost weekly discussions about the subject matter that made both of us better informed.

Finally, to not be forgotten, along with the outside support of my family, is the inexhaustible help of Dr. Clint Young. My former undergraduate advisor, Dr. Young, has served ever since as a sounding board for all the scores of questions and incidentals required to get to this point. To him and all others involved, thank you.

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## PROLOGUE

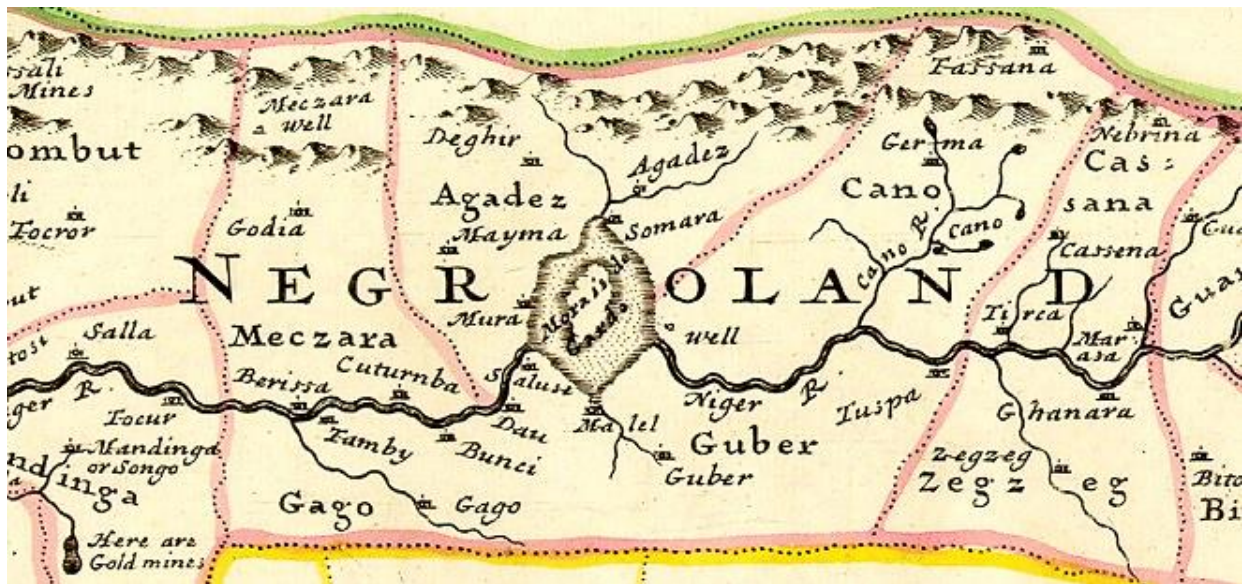


Figure 1 Detail from Herman Moll, *Negroland and Guinea, with the European settlements, explaining what belongs to England, Holland, Denmark &c.* T. Bowles next ye Chapter House in St. Pauls Church yard, & I. Bowles at ye Black Horse in Cornhill, 1736. Extract is of the Southwest portion of the Modern state of Niger in the interior of West Africa. (Accessed January 1, 2018)



Radicals on one side advocated overturning the system of labor, while those on the opposite extreme refused any call for a change from the lucrative arrangement. Economic and political leaders understood that the cruel system of slavery degraded their chances of future success, but separation by the color of skin supported every part of their society. According to them, slaves' African ancestry was the central justification for their lot in life. The solution was to send them back to the land of their ancestors, but to change slaves from capital to free men and women required two commitments from white elites. First, they needed to raise money to fund the new colonies, and second, they had to coerce the newly freed to go "back" to an unknown land.

The September 18, 1832 edition of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* was a four-page newspaper that exuded the prosperity of the region. Along with items about poetry, banknote exchange rates, endless dry goods advertisements, and national news, two pieces in the center of the front page stood out in a slightly larger font than the surrounding text. The top one told of yet another slave revolt, this one in far off Pernambuco, Brazil, in which "the negroes ... were murdering all the whites indiscriminately."<sup>1</sup> Directly below that was an advertisement, disguised as news reprinted from New York, titled simply, "Liberia." This item announced the return of Gloster Simpson and Archy Moore from the "Colony." The duo claimed to have found the colonists "healthy, well pleased with their situation, and improving their circumstances very rapidly."<sup>2</sup> The piece identified the two as "colored men," agents of the American Colonization Society (ACS) chapter in Natchez, Mississippi. Upon seeing their, "brethren there free men, and advanced to the

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<sup>1</sup> "Revolution at Pernambuco," *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Sept 18, 1832.

<sup>2</sup> "Revolution at Pernambuco" *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Sept 18, 1832.

full privileges of unrestrained enterprise and Christian liberty,” now sought funding to emigrate themselves.<sup>3</sup>

This piece, reprinted in at least ten different newspapers from Boston to North Carolina, left out many essential identifiers of these men that explain their reasons for joining the minimal number of black-skinned people who moved to the West African coast during the early nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Ministers from near Port Gibson, Mississippi, they were dealing with the fallout from fellow minister Nat Turner’s well-publicized revolt the year before. Their lives became more difficult because they were free black Christian ministers amid southern slaveholders. This difficulty intensified once newspaper accounts reached the river valley from the old southern state of Virginia recounting Turner’s actions.<sup>5</sup> They detailed their plan to resettle in West Africa during an orchestrated going away party in New Orleans, a month after Turner’s rebellion.<sup>6</sup> While Simpson and Moore were free men, their wives and children remained enslaved. Although the ACS saw a significant increase in short-term funding with each announcement of these men’s intentions, the pair waited three more years until pressure on one master and the death of another allowed them to leave for their final trip across the Atlantic. During their period of waiting, the ACS retold their tale of desiring to relocate in every publication possible to enhance funding. Each story very carefully spoke in moralistic terms of the pious Christianity of the men and the cause. However, they only alluded to white fears of slave revolts and miscegenation as opposed to expressing them directly. Each paper added

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<sup>3</sup> “Revolution at Pernambuco,” *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Sept 18, 1832.

<sup>4</sup> The use of “black” as a category of analysis refers to the way in which the Anglo-Atlantic world of the time grouped anyone with skin and/or facial features thought to be indicative of any degree of African ancestry. In the same vein this dissertation also refers to the residents of European descent living in the Americas as “white.”

<sup>5</sup> “Insurrection in Virginia,” *Vicksburg Whig*, September 16, 1831, 2-3; “At Home,” *The Natchez Weekly Courier*, October 28, 1831, 6; Judith Kelleher Schafer, “The Immediate Impact of Nat Turner’s Insurrection on New Orleans,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 21, no. 4 (Autumn 1980): 361-376.

<sup>6</sup> “Farewell Meeting of the Emigrants,” *New Orleans Observer*, February 24, 1835.

moralistic pronouncements of the endeavor's benefit to African Americans and to civilizing Africa, and of the colony's economic potential for agricultural production.<sup>7</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the town of Ledbury, among the apple orchards of Herefordshire, England, sat John Biddulph. Descended from a family that made its money off the lead mines worked by Welshmen from just across the border, Biddulph was an international banker, with offices in London. In 1832, properties in Scotland, ships bound for India, a new port in Grenada, and a Jamaican slave camp with almost six hundred black-skinned captives belonged to Biddulph. He traveled the seas as a young man, seeing the wonders of the expanding British Empire.<sup>8</sup> As Simpson and Moore headed back to Mississippi in the fall of 1832, Biddulph received several newspapers from around Great Britain detailing the disastrous first meeting of the British African Colonization Society, an organization for which he had signed up to be the treasurer. Biddulph and fellow international bankers from around England managed to pass a charter expressing the desire to support American recolonization despite the attendance of avid abolitionists who disrupted the proceedings.<sup>9</sup> The organization lasted only three years under that name, but its elite membership sponsored a journal called *The Friends of Africa*. Beginning in 1841, Biddulph handled the minutiae of publishing the journal, which continued production until 1845. *The Friends of Africa* yielded fifty-two volumes dedicated to providing updates on any

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<sup>7</sup> "Colonization Affairs" *The Evening Post*, Dec 24, 1832 - Page 2; "The Natchez Colonization Society" *The Weekly Messenger and Connecticut and Passumpsic River Valley Advertiser*, St. Johnsbury, Vermont, Oct 09, 1832 - Page 3; *Tarboro' Press*, "Liberia" Tarboro, NC, Apr 11, 1835 - Page 4; "Arrived" *Boston Post*: Boston, MA, Sep 17, 1832 - Page 3; George Livermore, *Memoir of George Livermore*, Collection. 1862) 9; Hodgkin, Thomas, On Negro Emancipation and American Colonization (England: 1832) 39; American Colonization Society, *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* (Washington, D.C.: American Colonization Society, 1833). Vol 8, 59, 217, 251.

<sup>8</sup> John Biddulph, *Office of Probate, Wills* (Dec 02, 1846) 11/2030; Kathleen Mary Butler, *The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados 1823-1843* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 55; "Deaths" *The Economist: Weekly Commercial Times, Banker's Gazette and Railway Monitor* (November 29, 1845) 1197.

<sup>9</sup> "Colonization of Africa" *The Morning Chronicle*, London (October 12, 1832); "Colonization Society" *Aberdeen Journal, and General Advertiser for the North of Scotland*, Aberdeen, Scotland (February 6, 1832) 4; "Literary and Philosophical Society" *The Hull Packet*, Hull, England (November 27, 1832) 2.

investment opportunities in West Africa from Senegambia to the island of Fernando Po. As a product of the original members of the British African Colonization Society, it consistently presented stories of the potential and supposed successes of the organization's United States' arm.<sup>10</sup>

On the surface, *The Friends of Africa* spoke of the advances of those with black skin throughout the English-speaking world; however, the constant references to investments indicated the expected audience. Furthermore, Biddulph kept a diary that reads as a no-nonsense listing of present and future investment opportunities for his London-based company. Biddulph's worries about the consequences of slavery's abolition are buried among the diary's figures. He joined others in backing a solution to the impending loss of capital inherent in emancipation: one that spoke the language of his ilk but had the skin tone of the natives of Africa.<sup>11</sup> The journal also discussed and provided maps of the supposed agricultural and mining opportunities in West Africa awaiting exploitation. To develop those opportunities, Biddulph and other investors provided the capital to send freed slaves "back to Africa."<sup>12</sup> While the organization's activities failed, as did all previous and later campaigns to recolonize, it served its purpose in promising to offset the perceived loss of capital inherent in the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, which came to a head as investors made these plans.

The opportunities these businessmen saw in relocating former slaves to West Africa came about thanks in part to mapmakers like Anthony Finley. His business sat just up the hill from the quayside of the self-proclaimed new Athens - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Just across the street

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<sup>10</sup> "What Can Colonization Do?" The Caledonian Mercury, Edinburgh, Scotland (December 13, 1841) 4; The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, *The Friend of Africa* (London: Nov 1840 to Dec 1845).

<sup>11</sup> William Innes, *Liberia: or, The Early History & Signal Preservation of the American Colony of Free Negroes on the Coast of Africa* (Edinburgh: R. Marshall, 1832).

<sup>12</sup> Diaries of John Biddulph, 1768-1845, Ledbury, Herefordshire.

from the Second Bank of the United States, patrons entered and exited in the shadow of the center of banking for the new country. Finley published everything from medical journals to biographies of the founding fathers, but the centerpiece of his business was the maps he sold to investors and pioneers embarking on voyages near and far.<sup>13</sup> Having the bank next door helped his business. As Biddulph involved himself in attracting British investors for his recolonization scheme, Finley released his new atlas that purported to encompass the latest in exploration.<sup>14</sup> As he included the first map of Liberia, it received a full page in his atlas.<sup>15</sup> Like all of his maps, it featured borders, ports, and cities where there were none, along with symbols of Christianity, possible crops, and hints of resources designed to entice those willing to invest in a journey halfway around the world.

While his fortune eventually found its way into the coffers of the ACS years after his death, during his life Finley's job imagining capital investments in exotic locale intertwined with his enlightened ideals and Presbyterian faith.<sup>16</sup> Like other American cartographers of his time, he made Atlases and individual maps that consisted of wonderfully detailed depictions of geographical locations around the world through symbols and lines, which showed borders, as well as the industrial growth of each region. By placing unknown locales in a context and style that mimicked those used for areas known to his audience, Finley's atlases made the foreign lands feel more accessible through the placement of symbols for economic growth such as cotton

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<sup>13</sup> Birth Records of Saint Michael's and Zion Church, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Historic Pennsylvania Church and Town Records*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, (2007) 913. Accessed at <https://www.ancestry.com>; Maria M. Thompson, "The Athenaeum of Philadelphia" in *Incollect: Interiors + Collections*, Sept 9, 2014. Accessed at <https://www.incollect.com/articles/the-athenaeum-of-philadelphia>, April 04, 2016

<sup>14</sup>Anthony Finley, *A new general atlas, comprising a complete set of maps, representing the grand divisions of the globe, together with the several empires, kingdoms and states in the world; compiled from the best authorities and corrected by the most recent discoveries*, 1832.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Finley, *Map of the West Coast Of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas: including the Colony Of Liberia: Compiled chiefly from the Surveys and Observations Of The Late Revd. J. Ashmun*, 1831. Philadelphia, A. Finley. <http://www.davidrumsey.com> (Accessed February 21, 2016).

<sup>16</sup> "Common Pleas" *Legal Intelligencer* (Philadelphia, Pa: King & Baird, 1846) 53.

or neatly laid out grid street systems where a dirt path may or may not have been the reality.<sup>17</sup> His contribution helped solicit funding for a colony intended for the product of years of Anglo enslavement—black-skinned citizens. Finley mapped a way out of slavery for Anglo moneyed interests that promised to remove the mistreated people from the United States while creating a new means of exploiting black labor for white profit.<sup>18</sup>

Maria Stewart, tucked away in a back corner of the city of Boston, was a black-skinned woman bravely speaking and writing to thwart the plans of Biddolph, Finley, and other recolonizationists. Stewart got her start working with African American activist David Walker on publishing his appeal to fellow African Americans to unify and defeat slavery. Walker's printed call to fight back enraged and aroused fears of slave revolts in the white population. Stewart continued Walker's campaign to deny white men the easy way out through recolonization after his mysterious death in 1830.<sup>19</sup> By September 1832, she had spoken out against the attempts by whites to persuade Blacks to go to Africa several times. Nevertheless, on September 21 she made history, becoming the first known American woman to speak to a large crowd in the famed Franklin Hall in Boston. The abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* reprinted her lengthy address, which touched upon the abolitionist movement, African American attitudes, and recolonization.

They stole our fathers from their peaceful and quiet dwellings, and brought them hither, and made bond-men and bond-women of them and their little ones; they have obliged our brethren to labor, kept them in utter ignorance, nourished them in vice, and raised them in degradation; and now that we have enriched their soil, and filled their coffers, they say that we are not capable of becoming like white

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<sup>17</sup> Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2001), 17-19; Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* ([needs publication info], 1985), 268.

<sup>18</sup> Finley, *Map of the West Coast Of Africa* (1831).

<sup>19</sup> David Walker, *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles with a Preamble* (Boston, 1830); Stefan M. Wheelock, *Barbaric Culture and Black Critique: Black Antislavery Writers, Religion, and the Slaveholding Atlantic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016) 3, 10-22, 122.

men, and that we never can rise to respectability in this country. They would drive us to a strange land.<sup>20</sup>

Stewart was one of many black leaders who spoke out against recolonization while doing everything in their power to bring about the end of slavery. Even as Simpson and Moore sought migration as the only way out of their predicament, most Free People of Color voted with their feet to side with Stewart and other immediate emancipationists. While a significant group of whites consistently looked at Africa as a place for economic advantage, if not suasion of their guilt, Stewart spoke of recolonization as an impossible task that only served to siphon money from education and support for African Americans after emancipation.<sup>21</sup> Stewart echoed the words of the many radical abolitionist leaders at the time.<sup>22</sup> While never denying her place as a proud descendant of Africa, she and others labored to build the American nation and demanded a part in its future, not to be forcefully returned to a place they had never been.

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<sup>20</sup> Maria Stewart, "Lecture Delivered at Franklin Hall, Boston" September 21, 1832 in Stewart, Maria W., and Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 46 – 48; Wheelock, 141-165.

<sup>21</sup> Stewart, Maria W., Benjamin C. Bacon, David Ruggles, and William Lloyd Garrison. *Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart: Presented to the First African Church & Society of the City of Boston*. New York, N.Y.: New York Public Library, 1997; Maria W. Stewart, *America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches*. Ed. Marilyn Richardson (Indiana University Press, 1987) 133; Valarie Cooper, *Word Like Fire: Maria Stewart, the Bible, and the Rights of African Americans*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>22</sup> William Lloyd Garrison, "Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles & Purposes of the American Colonization Society Together with the Resolutions, Addresses & Remonstrances of the Free People of Color" 1832 in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol. 1*. New York: Citadel Press, 1992; Andrew K. Diemer, *The Politics of Black Citizenship: Free African Americans in the Mid-Atlantic Borderland, 1817-1863* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2016) 152-154; Ben Wright, "'The Heathen Are Demanding the Gospel': Conversion, Redemption, and African Colonization" in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 50-69; Caleb McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013) 40, 45-46.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION



Figure 2 – Colonization Society of the State of New-York membership certificate to A. Hamilton Bishop, 1849, Brooklyn Historical Society (Accessed December 21, 2019). <https://www.brooklynhistory.org/research-collections/search-the-collections/>



This dissertation is not merely about the transatlantic efforts at recolonization in November of 1832. It is the story of a successive seventy-five years of the idea rippling across the English-speaking world. From the first hint of abolition to the ending of state-sanctioned chattel slavery in the British Empire and the United States, recolonization remained an integral part of the conversation. The idea proved to be at odds with the environmental and economic realities as early as the first group of colonists' removal from among the "black poor" of London by Granville Sharp. Furthermore, an ever-changing cadre of white elites from across the English-speaking world who saw themselves as visionaries reinvigorated it repeatedly. From immediately following the landmark Somerset case that formally emancipated any enslaved person in the British Isles, London advocates of the empire began a campaign to find a way to rid their streets of "the poor blacks" and avoid the feared overtaking of their society by Blacks.<sup>23</sup> The list of adherents descends all the way to Abraham Lincoln. With much fanfare in newspapers on either side of the Atlantic, Lincoln initiated the start of a large-scale migration in 1862. He pushed a bill through the Republican Congress to emancipate all slaves in Washington DC with an allotment of \$100,000 to begin the process of leaving for Liberia. The newspapers made it clear that this double-edged law assuaged the fears of the bulk of the white population of a possible bi-racial society coming with ending slavery.<sup>24</sup> The only problem was that none of the emancipated slaves actually left.

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<sup>23</sup> Lettsom, John Coakley. "Some Account of the Late John Fothergill" *The Works of John Fothergill*, ed. John Coakley (Lettsom. London: Charles Dilly, 1783); Granville Sharp, *Letter from Granville Sharp to the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery* (Baltimore: D. Graham, L. Yundt and W. Patton, 1793); Granville Sharp to John Witherspoon, New York Historical Society held by Princeton; Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> *Daily News* (London, Greater London, England)17 Dec 1862, 2; *The Essex County Standard*, etc. (Colchester, Essex, England)20 Dec 1861; *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria, Virginia)14 May 1862; *The Leavenworth Times* (Leavenworth, Kansas)13 May 1862; *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana)06 Sep 1862.

The majority of references to recolonization in previous scholarship are divided along the modern lines demarcating the two remnants of all these white plans, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Within these two historiographies, very different points of view have developed in the last decade. Histories of Sierra Leone concentrate on the second generation of colonists, former southern slaves who sided with the British in the American Revolution on the promise of freedom after the war.<sup>25</sup> The latest works have tried to embrace the charitable funding of the colony in Sierra Leone as part of the study of the political economy of the British transition from being the biggest dealers in slaves in the world to an anti-slavery force. While some have dealt with the place recolonization holds in the economic organization of the empire, the divergent support by abolitionists and financiers are perceived as one movement.<sup>26</sup> In fact, a series of three separate British organizations continually kept the dream alive.

Historians of American recolonization have begun dissecting the American Colonization Society (ACS) to find its place in an Age of Abolition. However, a constant debate over whether supporters were pro- or anti-slavery besets the field.<sup>27</sup> But by looking at the waves of support and

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<sup>25</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (London: Vintage Books, 2009); Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown: Black Loyalists After the American Revolution* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1999); Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2007); James W. Walker, *Black Loyalist: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017; Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008); Paul E. Lovejoy, and Suzanne Schwarz. *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006; Manish Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

<sup>27</sup> John Hanson Thomas McPherson, *History of Liberia*, in 9<sup>th</sup> Series of Historical and Political Science History is past Politics and Politics present History (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University, 1891), reprinted Lexington, KY: Filiquarian Publishing, 2014; Moses Wilson J., ed. *Liberian Dreams: Back to Africa Narratives from the 1850s* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998; Early Lee Fox, *American Colonization Society 1817-1840* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1919); Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) 7-42; Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831-1857* (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 1971); Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization 1787-1863* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Tom S. Schick, *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth Century Liberia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Douglas Egerton, "Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious": A

the failure of each, we can see that the question of pro- or anti-slavery becomes too simplistic of a dichotomy. Recolonization was a white centrist answer that bridged all political, religious, or geographical divides. Combining the separate languages of these historiographies shows the breadth and interconnectedness of the movement to recolonize former slaves in West Africa throughout the British Atlantic, as well as the significant part played by recolonization in shaping the conversation about abolition for political centrists of the time.

Only two monographs delve directly into the connection between Sierra Leone and Liberia. Both volumes fail to tackle the perspectives of the originators of colonization successfully.<sup>28</sup> While other historians have touched on the interconnectedness of the two colonies, none have dealt with the plethora of organizations that tried to create multiple colonies in West Africa populated by former slaves. These attempts ranged from those known for their success, albeit limited, such as Sierra Leone and Liberia, to proposals that failed to unload any of their authors' black-skinned neighbors into the wilds to fend for themselves. Some organizations consisted of only select elites in one locale, and others took on members from multiple chapters.

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New Look at the American Colonization Society,” *Journal of the Early American Republic* 5, no 4 (Winter 1985): 463; Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004); Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black & White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); John Wess Grant, “Stranded Families: Free Colored Responses to Liberian Colonization and the Formation of Black Families in Nineteenth-Century Richmond, Virginia.” In *The United States and West Africa: Interactions and Relations*, edited by Alusine Jalloh and Toyin Falola, 61-71. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008; Claude A. Clegg III, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Sara Fanning, *African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2015; Richard Douglas-Chin, “Liberia as American Diaspora: The Transnational Scope of American Identity in the Mid-nineteenth Century.” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 40, no. 4 (2010): 213-234.

<sup>28</sup> Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970) deals with the foreign relations of the United Kingdom and the United States as they pertained to the developments of Sierra Leone and Liberia during the early nineteenth century. He argues that they must be understood separately because of the perceived difference in the wishes of the two national entities and solely by the chronology of the British founding having preceded the American venture by thirty years. Conversely, he does acknowledge the work of others outside of the government in creating Liberia, but still concentrates on the output of official records; Bronwen Everill. *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) does a lot to correct the exceptionalism attitude of West Africa within the English-speaking world. Yet, as her story centers on the settlers' impact on the developments of the anti-slavery movement, she inadvertently ignores the roots of white support for the beginnings of these two colonies and the black resistance.

By not approaching the issue of recolonization from an Atlantic and commercial perspective, previous scholars fall victim to old tropes of assuming that these organization's official correspondence reflects the ideas and attitudes of those who supported recolonization.<sup>29</sup> As this dissertation demonstrates, examination of the printed output of the ever-growing community of readers on either side of the Atlantic reveals a different pattern: recolonization stemmed from the fear of what a bi-racial society could mean for the white commercial and social networks.

The transatlantic world operated around the trading of ideas, goods, and people.<sup>30</sup> When examining the constant string of failed attempts, it becomes clear that recolonization was a product of the spread of ideas – ideas about the transition of Blacks from goods to people. This study reorients the study of recolonization to understand the economic and political failures of the many white boosters of recolonization, and the importance of the resistance against it, especially from the black-skinned residents—the target of the multiple proposals across the English-speaking world.

The Atlantic served as an ever-broadening route since the time of Christopher Columbus. The British became a part of the flow soon after and exponentiated its role in the development of the slave trade.<sup>31</sup> As this network expanded and grew with Anglo migrations and innovations, the

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<sup>29</sup> For other works that do involve both Sierra Leone and Liberia, but only as cursory to their larger narrative, see Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionist Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 110-139; Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972) 212-217; Robin Law, ed. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth Century West Africa* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000) 251-260; Archibald Alexander, *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: W. S. Martien, 1849); Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce: Also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies Already Formed, or Attempted, in Africa, Including Those of Sierra Leona and Bulama*. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968) 468-506.

<sup>30</sup> Kenyon Zimmer, "Transatlantic History: Locating and Naming an Emergent Field of Study" *Traversea* v.3, 2013.

<sup>31</sup> David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford, 2006); J H Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006) 108-114, 169; Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996) 194-210.

desires of more and more individuals to take part in the success of the system clashed with the existing structure. The end of the eighteenth century saw this reach a climax as the humans used as capital and producers of products demanded their rights to self-determination.<sup>32</sup> The French empire saw this play out in a bloody and well-known revolution in their Caribbean colony, Saint Domingue. However, the British government dealt with the implosion of its American holdings through the American Revolution and multiple small revolts of slaves that gained attention throughout the empire.<sup>33</sup> As the Spanish and Portuguese resorted to depositing slaves involved in revolts on ships to get them off their shores, the English-speaking world looked for a solution.<sup>34</sup> That solution first involved the ending of the commercial structure built on the volatile business of enslaving other individuals and replacing it with one that worked within the emerging system of industrial capital.<sup>35</sup>

Even as slaves highlighted the inability of the chattel system to continue through increasingly public displays of protest, the fallout from the American Revolution caused a ramping up of an informal commercial empire.<sup>36</sup> The British system of commerce developed beyond the reach of the government, thus allowing for less oversight of the infusion of capital to

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<sup>32</sup> Janet L. Polasky, *Revolutions Without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016) 12, 105.

<sup>33</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 146-169; David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford, 2006); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2013) XI-XIII, 211-247.

<sup>34</sup> Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010) 228; Kwesi Kwaa Prah, *Back to Africa Vol. 1* (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), 2009); David P. Geggus, ed. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*. University of South Carolina Press, 2001; João José Reis and Arthur Brakel, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: the Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997) 52, 53.

<sup>35</sup> J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

<sup>36</sup> Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991) 172-205.

create a stronger economy.<sup>37</sup> Charters led to organizations of entrepreneurs on both sides of the ocean that needed the system of profits to continue regardless of state institutions. Networks of written communication and trade bordered the dreams of commercial organizations, not the ruling governments in any one geographical locale. Such routes meant that a breakdown of the system would be felt not only in London, but also in Jamaica, Boston, and throughout the existing empire.<sup>38</sup> As a solution that promised to solve the future economic impact of the confluence of the problems of slave resistance and the developing informal empire, recolonization consistently gained momentum on both sides of the Atlantic. This momentum predated involvement from both the British and American governments.

The timing of the first recolonization movement was also determined by changes in the export of slaves from West Africa during this period. Even as the number of slaves shipped from Africa increased in the 1780s and prices of slaves exploded, the number imported from West Africa dwindled to nothing. But interest from slavers did not go away even as their system of purchasing and shipping of human flesh organized with ever diminishing profits. Instead, it seems that “Atlantic slaving had begun to exhaust the capacity of West African elites to generate exportable captives at the same level, and ...slave shippers were beginning to be outbid by a growing internal demand for slaves.”<sup>39</sup> The increase in internal trade came from the birth of “cash crop” farming by West Africans. Ironically, problems with cash crops became a leading factor in the failures of each recolonizing venture. The British based their choice of a crop, as well as the systems used, on their experience in North America, where the soil content and

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<sup>37</sup> Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986) 84-100.

<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Macke, “Chartered Enterprises and the Evolution of the British Atlantic World,” in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) 237 -262.

<sup>39</sup> Gareth Austin, “Commercial Agriculture and the Ending of Slave-trading and Slavery in West Africa, 1780s-1920s” in *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013) 264, 243-265.

weather are very different.<sup>40</sup> Even so, some tried to work with indigenous products such as sugarcane, but the white vision of West Africa failed to materialize despite the generous amount of funding and propaganda.

This dissertation looks at the ongoing conversation about recolonization through the lens of capitalist networks. To understand the numerous defunct attempts, as well as the moderate successes, of the movement, several regional and philosophical paths of inquiry from past scholarship must be combined. One groundbreaking work that alludes to the economic effects of colonial actions in West Africa is Christopher Leslie Brown's *Moral Capital*. Brown incorporates the rise of Sierra Leone into a rethinking of the humanitarian arguments for expansion and colonial possession of the British into Africa. He argues that following the end of the American Revolution, the British people needed to find a commercial avenue less destructive to their nation's self-worth. In his argument, he identifies Sierra Leone as the beginning of the devouring of Africa as part of the "white man's burden." While historians of the later American attempt by the ACS do recognize some of the same drives, they exist in separate historiographies using different terminology.<sup>41</sup> This dissertation, instead, finds that understanding the later American movements to recolonize under the guiding terminology of moral capitalism opens the window to understanding the continuity of thought about recolonization.

Capitalist bankers and leaders needed former slaves to spread their networks of trade to a locale outside the Anglosphere of influence. The reward for the cosmopolitan investor seemed to

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<sup>40</sup> Gareth Austin, "Commercial Agriculture and the Ending of Slave-trading and Slavery in West Africa, 1780s-1920s" in *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 26-27; Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017); Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Nicholas Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened America Invented Racial Segregation* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

offset the losses entailed in ending the slave system. Many did not think of recolonization as a wholesale movement of all black-skinned people, but as an investment through colony building to expand investors' sphere of influence even if the overall goal of racial segregation failed. This dissertation does not seek to answer the hotly contested historiographical question of economic versus humanitarian motivations behind the ending of the slave trade and then slavery.<sup>42</sup> Instead, it examines how recolonization fit into abolitionist debates through its promise to lessen the perceived financial impact of emancipation.

The financial promise of recolonization continued regardless of multiple failures of the actual colonization attempts thanks to a continual transatlantic propaganda campaign. For a century, the recolonization campaign relied on an imagined Africa with only a minimal resemblance to the political, economic, or environmental realities of West Africa. As Benedict Anderson states in *Imagined Communities*, "It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny."<sup>43</sup> This imagined land was created through a robust campaign of maps and purportedly scientific pamphlets and, eventually, the expanding newsprint culture that developed in tandem with the push to end chattel slavery. Maps have always acted as a distinct part of the process of creating empires. Mapping (as well as other practices of print culture) encourages the imaginations of empires as well as nations. The United States formed its understanding of its own imagined community and the place of citizens in the world through an expanded production of individual maps and atlases.<sup>44</sup> Maps displayed methods for economic development in a

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<sup>42</sup>Johnson U. J. Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1969); Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, 1977); Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*; Davis, *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*; Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman, *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (New York, 1987); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987).

<sup>43</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983).

<sup>44</sup> Anderson, 163-174; Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).



foreign land using a script they understood as sheer fact by its placement on a map. However, the reality of the locales promised to be far more difficult.<sup>45</sup> Differences in geography and the particular mindset of leaders distinguished the various recolonization campaigns from one another. Nevertheless, they all voiced similar desires: to spread economic control to another continent and relieve fears of revolts and integration of those categorized as black by the color of their skin. However, the resistance of the potential black migrants to the white campaigns rendered such plans ineffectual.

The Age of Enlightenment was an integral foundation for colonization and continuing support through its many failures. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth, the limited knowledge of amateur scientists, coupled with scanty and misunderstood information from West Africa, led to a wealth of pamphlets and monographs that supported both racist ideas and recolonization.<sup>46</sup> Despite maintaining that they were not racist, many practitioners continued to push for separation based on the supposed inability of their neighbors to embrace a bi-racial society. For example, there was a popular notion that people with black skin were preordained for warmer climates.<sup>47</sup> While each proponent of recolonization took a different tactic to explain away their wish to separate by skin color, they all added to the print culture bolstering of the global segregationist project.

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<sup>45</sup> Alexander Kent, Vervust, Soetkin, Demhardt, Imre Josef, and Millea, Nick. *Mapping Empires. Colonial Cartographies of Land and Sea. 7th International Symposium of the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography, 2018* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020); Outram-Leman, Sven. "Mapping Senegambia: Legacies of Ambition and the Failure of an Early Colonial Venture." *Britain and the World*. 11, no. 2 (September 2018): 212–231; Robin Law, ed. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth Century West Africa* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000) 133.

<sup>46</sup> Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Ralph Griffiths, *The Monthly Review, Or, New Literary Journal* (London: R. Griffiths, at the Dunciad in St. Paul's Church-yard) v.16-47; American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, Massachusetts Colonization Society, and Peirce and Parker. *American Colonization Society, and the Colony at Liberia* (Boston: Peirce & Parker, 1831); Worcester County Colonization Society, and George A. Tufts. *Report Made at an Adjourned Meeting of the Friends of the American Colonization Society in Worcester County, Held in Worcester, Dec. 8, 1830* (Worcester MA: S.H. Colton and Co, 1831); .

The drive to recolonize West Africa developed along with the expansion of printed material and technological advances in media. This dissertation pulls from a wealth of newspaper sources and journals to demonstrate that societal leaders attempted to manipulate the story of West Africa to gain support for their efforts and persuade Blacks to become colonists. Propaganda took on new meaning with the rise of news readership throughout the English-speaking world. Elites used this expanding newsprint culture to push for support in the public sphere, regardless of their own governments'.<sup>48</sup> The world outside of government, in which people discuss issues of the day, can lead to actions and movements that change state institutions, and the output of the press has continually influenced this public sphere.<sup>49</sup> The resulting democratic discourse should not be discounted, despite the public sphere's confinement to the political elite of the day. The newspaper at first encouraged critical analysis of issues that affected British public policy, but the subsequent commercialization of the news served to engineer, rather than democratize, civil discourse and opinion. With the failure of the recolonization movement, it becomes apparent that the black minority, although excluded from the process, responded by developing a competing voice.

Newspapers form a distinct part of the public sphere that shaped nations and their empires from the late eighteenth century onward. The newspaper, in turn, made the "public sphere" essential in governmental decisions, but also illustrated the power of associations and organizations in creating a unification of general thought that built on the things discussed in newsprint.<sup>50</sup> Research reveals nearly a century's worth of robust coverage of recolonization in

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<sup>48</sup> Russ Castronovo, *Propaganda 1776: Secrets, Leaks, and Revolutionary Communications in Early America* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014); Bjørn F. Stillion Southard, *Peculiar Rhetoric: Slavery, Freedom, and the African Colonization Movement* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2019).

<sup>49</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991) 176.

<sup>50</sup> Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

newsprint throughout the English-speaking world. The white population created an imagined community that would rid itself of the former slaves and generate a space far away to assuage their fears of both revolts and economic collapse. Historians of the ACS and Sierra Leone commonly refer to the cause's lack of financing as a sign of how little support it had, but the plethora of newsprint with stories such as the coverage of Simpson and Moore form a different picture.<sup>51</sup>

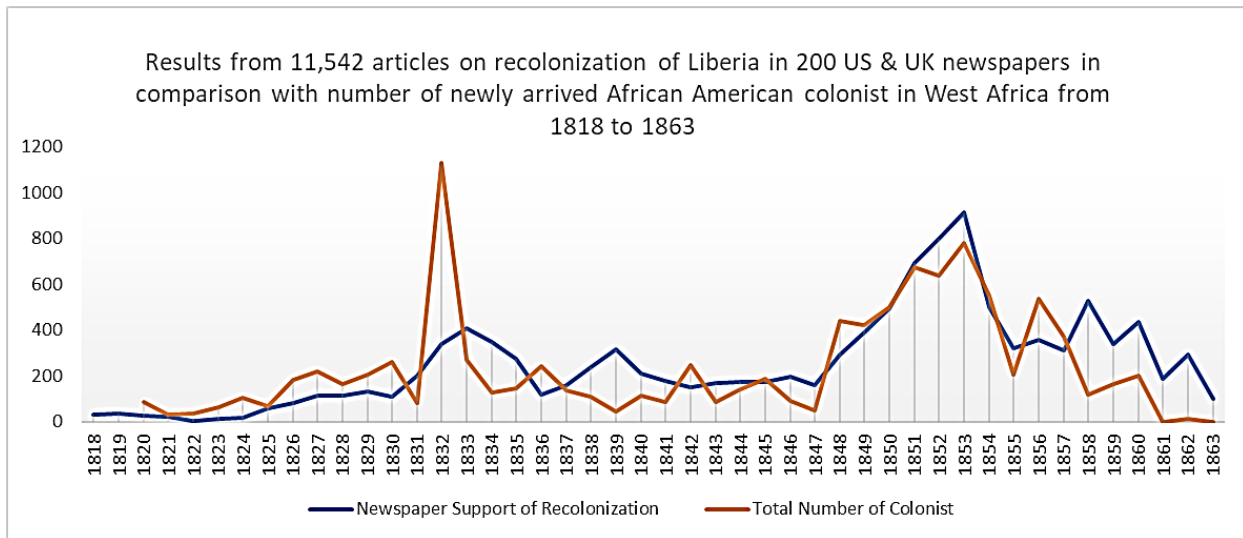


Figure 3 Breakdown of 11,542 articles on Liberian Colonization collected from 200 leading newspapers in the United States and Great Britain for this study, 1818 -1863 in comparison with American Colonization records of the number of black Americans sent to West Africa organized by year. See Appendix D for a listing of the number of articles in support of colonization per year and Appendix A for compiled data on Liberian colonists by year and location. See also Appendix E for an analysis of the geographical location of all articles on Liberian Colonization by year.

As can be seen in Figure 3, supportive articles increased from a combination of colonist willing to go and the events of the day. With each announcement of Blacks willing to go to Africa, financial support also increased. Even in the period of the most robust colony building, following the creation of the Republic of Liberia in 1848 and the Compromise of 1850, the number of those willing to go was dwarfed by the outpouring of white support. The avoidance of

<sup>51</sup> All references to the lack of financial support seem to rely upon Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). Staudenraus based his findings almost exclusively on government documents.

a bi-racial society came closer to being a reality with the stoppage of the westward movement of slavery. Many believed the only viable economic answer for the nation required the exit of all Free People of Color from within its boundaries to avoid future black domination. To this end, boosters expanded their efforts across the western periphery, from Illinois to Louisiana, North Carolina to Iowa. The perceived imperative was large enough to lead to the forced deportation of free Blacks from within the boundaries of several states.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, even this failed to attract more than three thousand total willing to recolonize, the majority of whom were freed from slavery on the condition that they go to Liberia.

Even as scholarship on the American Colonization Society has begun to give credence to the voices of Blacks opposed to the movement in the United States, resistance in other parts of the British Atlantic garners little attention.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, because of Sierra Leone's position as the chosen home of former southern slaves who fought with the British in the American Revolution, the immigrants have become integral to the British narrative as leaders of abolition.<sup>54</sup> Yet the example of one prominent African by birth who went to work for the Sierra Leone Company, Olaudah Equiano, challenges this view; he quickly became an opponent of the colony after experiencing the white-designed plan up close.<sup>55</sup> It is not a coincidence that Blacks did not take part in the migration schemes in large numbers, which resulted in colony after

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<sup>52</sup>Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017)

<sup>53</sup> Ousmane Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2014); Andrew K. Diemer, *The Politics of Black Citizenship: Free African Americans in the Mid-Atlantic Borderland, 1817-1863* (Athens, GA; University of Georgia Press, 2016) 4, 12-30.

<sup>54</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Olaudah Equiano and Robert J. Allison, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*. (Boston: Bedford, 2016).

colony becoming failures. While they felt a bond much like European Americans did to the lands of their ancestors, their identity was tied up in the nations of their birth.

African Americans were an integral part of the forming of an American identity. African Americans' actions for and against the American Colonization Society stemmed from their desire to go to Africa by their own strength and timing. The African American community developed a unified identity based on pride in the accomplishments that came from the continent, actively calling themselves the children of Africa.<sup>56</sup> The constructed identity came from combining the various heritages from diverse parts of the continent of Africa into one single African American category. Going to Africa offered an opportunity to unite both their pride of origin and what they saw as a benefit for themselves in a mythical homeland or Promised Land.

The social pressures inflicted on all Blacks came from the Anglo-culture's realization of a need to stop the continued bondage of a growing population that might duplicate the actions of the Haitian Revolution. Ending the slave trade would only go so far in stopping a multiplying population from revolting.<sup>57</sup> Ending the slave trade also required the imagined profitability of West Africa. From the first days of the campaign to end the slave trade to the last desperate attempts at a white-led West African colony, the issue of ending the slave trade was a part of the recolonization campaign—and vice versa. While Quakers who helped fund the first colony in Sierra Leone tried to raise awareness of the evils and problematic nature of the trade from the mid-1700s onward, the public mobilization against the slave trade did not start until after the announcement of a way out of a bi-racial society in the form of the new West African colony.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic*. 1st ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007); Blackburn, Robin. *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2013) 396.

<sup>57</sup>Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants Across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 2010).

<sup>58</sup>Srinivas Aravamudan, *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688-1804* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999) 308-312.

The ending of the slave trade was an integral part of the peopling of the eventual Sierra Leone colony and the colonization schemes. The failure of the early British recolonization efforts were kept secret until the government and the public could be employed to pass legislation protecting the company from bankruptcy under the auspices of supporting the ending of the slave trade after 1807. The ultimate success of the Sierra Leone colony was built almost entirely on the constant expansion of the colony's workforce with re-captives brought as a byproduct of the ending of the slave trade. The British fleet captured slave-trading vessels leaving Central West Africa with slaves bound for rival European holdings in the Americas. They then offloaded the captives in Sierra Leone instead of returning them to their native lands. Throughout the early nineteenth century, these re-captives showed up on the edges of newspaper reports, trying to find ways to return home—a journey of upwards of two thousand miles by water or land for most of them.<sup>59</sup>

The realities on the ground in West Africa refuted much of what the white organizers and their propaganda printed about the matter. Geographically speaking, the region has very few ports and, as will be discussed later, the soil and climate could not produce many of the conventional crops the English desired.<sup>60</sup> Organization leaders also consistently ignored or discredited reported problems with native populations.<sup>61</sup> Overlooked by most historians, even abolitionist Granville Sharp blamed the failure of the first colony not on poor planning, disease, or the indigenous fight to push back against the colonists, but on what he considered obvious: the laziness of former slaves. Even today, regional confrontations between the descendants of black

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<sup>59</sup> *Military Register*, v.5, 117, London, Wednesday 22 May 1816.

<sup>60</sup> West, 27 – 52; Everill 3-7, 183-185; Gareth Austin, “Commercial Agriculture and the Ending of Slave-trading and Slavery in West Africa, 1780s-1920s” in *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013) 263.

<sup>61</sup> Archibald Alexander, *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: W. S. Martien, 1849).

settlers and African natives are still a distinct problem, as the colonial projects created separate classes that rarely cross into each other's worlds.<sup>62</sup>

Existing scholarship and primary sources only hint at the motives of recolonization's boosters: recolonization was not only a means to remove an unwanted population, but it also promised to spread Western ideas of commerce and religion that would benefit growing industrial markets and the expansion of Christianity.<sup>63</sup> When refocused in this manner, recent scholarship on the American Colonization Society as the foundation of later segregation and the African American stance against it takes on new meaning. As such, when the idea of spreading Christianity to Africa comes up, this study looks at its incorporation into the financial calculations of recolonization. African American religious organizations, on the other hand, facilitated the spread of Christianity to Africa, but also served as an informal institution to fight removal.

The black population refused to have the terms of any migration dictated by the economic and political white elite. The African American community and a small cadre of white abolitionists were at war with the American Colonization Society not because of a desire to turn their backs on the African continent, but because of the base reasons behind the Anglo-American recolonization movement. Opponents realized that even as the fight for the ending of slavery gained momentum, the move to colonize Africa with former slaves only hampered their cause. Colonization offered a safe way for the white population to rid itself of the African Americans

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<sup>62</sup> Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce: Also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies Already Formed, or Attempted, in Africa, Including Those of Sierra Leona and Bulama*. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968) 468-506; Thompson, Samuel & Barry Mowell. "Liberia: America's Closest African Ally." *Social Education*, 61 no.7 (1997), 390-394.

<sup>63</sup> Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012) 9, 101; Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: The clash of Religion and Politics in Europe, From the French Revolution to the Great War* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005) 368, 415-424.

that built the United States, without bloodshed or integration. While members of the African American community had many reasons and launched several attempts during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to go to Africa, such moves lacked follow through as long as colonization supported slavery or racial segregation.<sup>64</sup>

The numbers bear out the real success of the African American resistance to the ACS. From 1816 to 1868, the ACS convinced only 15,000 people to go to Liberia, out of a population that grew to over four million by the end of this period.<sup>65</sup> When these numbers are further broken down, taking out those migrants manumitted from slavery on condition that they go to Liberia and those captured from slave ships, only 4,200 were recorded as being free African Americans. Less than 1% of those free people, whom recolonization was set up to attract, actually went.<sup>66</sup> Even these numbers are possibly misleadingly high, as they are based on the records of the ACS itself. Using the example of the ship that carried Simpson and Moore in 1835, the *Brig Rover*, sixteen people, or roughly 24% of the ship's passengers, were recorded as free, but only Simpson and Moore had been free before starting the process of leaving.<sup>67</sup> In other words, fourteen of those recorded as “free” had only recently been manumitted, almost certainly on the condition that they emigrate, It is likely that the ACS skewed additional records to make their numbers

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<sup>64</sup> Paul Cuffe, *Memoir of Captain Paul Cuffee: A Man of Colour: to Which Is Subjoined, The Epistle of the Society of Sierra Leone* (York, UK: C. Peacock for W. Alexander, 1812); Martin Robison Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States and ; Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004); Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionist Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 110-139.

<sup>65</sup> *The African Repository*, v. 51 (Washington DC: American Colonization Society, 1877).

<sup>66</sup> Bureau of Census, *We the Americans: Blacks* (Washington DC: US Gov't Printing Office, 1993) 2; Accessed April 24, 1019 at <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen1990/wepeople/we-1.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> U.S. Congress. “Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States therewith.” 28th Cong. 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., Doc. 150, serial 458, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office; Green, James. Olographic Will, 1832. *Adams County, Mississippi, Court of Probate, Record of Wills*, Will Book 2, 8; Bullock, Mary. Olographic Will, June 2, 1833. *Claiborne County, Mississippi, Court of Probate, Record of Wills, 1821 – 1964*, Will Book A, 273; See Appendix D for full listing of Liberian Immigrants, 1822-1846; “Farewell Meeting of the Emigrants” in *New Orleans Observer*, February 24, 1835; Gurley, Ralph Randolph. *The African Repository, and Colonial Journal*, Vol. X (Georgetown D.C.: James Dunn, 1833) 293; see Appendix E.



look attractive to whites worried about the free Blacks in their midst. In fact if the numbers of free versus slave to go are looked at by the division of free states versus slave states of the day the number that were willing to go become even less significant.

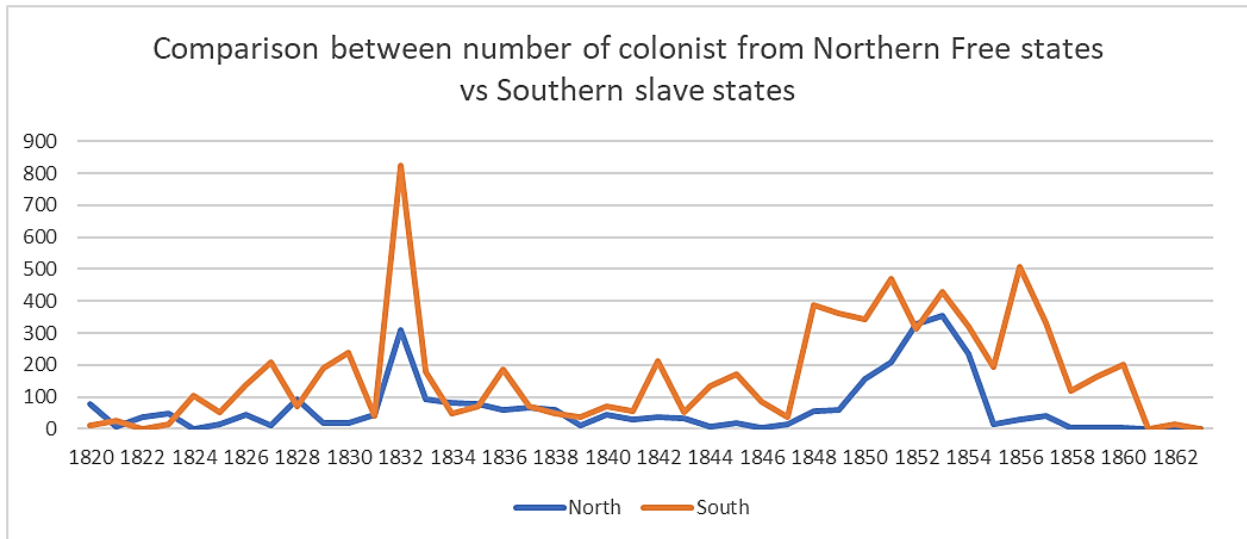


Figure 4 Comparison between number between number of colonist from northern free states and southern slave states from compiled and collated data gleaned from “Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States, 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458; Shick, Tom W., and Svend E. Holsoe. Emigrants to Liberia, 1820 to 1843, an Alphabetical Listing. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Department of Anthropology & Liberian Studies Association in America, 1971; American Colonization Society, The African Repository, Vol. 33 (1857) found in Appendix A.

The very first numbers came from northern states such as Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, but within a short time the number becomes predominantly those from the southern states. As seen in the story of Simpson and Moore even those that were technically free that went from the south would be connected to those still in slavery. The spikes in northern colonist directly correlate not to the articles as seen in Figure 3, but to events that swayed a few of the colonist. Overall, the African American community fought any attempt to force its numbers out of the country of their birth; however, African Americans did lead separate efforts to migrate on their own to Africa and other destinations. In 1827, Etienne Boyer, the President of Haiti, called on free African Americans to help build Haiti into a Black Republic. Within two years, 13,000 had

emigrated. Most returned to the United States within a couple of years, as Boyer proved to be a dictator and they wanted something better.<sup>68</sup>

Those who went to Africa, meanwhile, became Americo-Liberians or Krio in Sierra Leone. Many of them enslaved and discriminated against the indigenous Africans they found in and around the colonies, spreading the same attitudes and problems they had themselves faced in the various parts of the British Empire and the United States. Whereas Sierra Leone remained a crown colony until 1961, western scholarship considered Liberia the first free nation in Africa, until the descendants of the local African nations revolted in the 1980s caused scholars to rethink this stance. The few who enacted American and British expansion spawned a history of violence in West Africa that continues today.<sup>69</sup>

The following chapters are divided by chronological order to show the continuity of the recolonization movement. The divisions follow the transitions from one white association's attempts to spearhead recolonization to another's, despite previous failures. In doing so, they highlight the ways that each of these campaigns was used by a centrist part of the reading public to accept the next phase of abolition without giving up its racist views. Each chapter also highlights the ways that black-skinned individuals of the English-speaking world tried to find autonomy from the white population while pushing to ensure freedom for all Blacks.

Chapter 2 charts the rise and fall of the first recolonization attempt at the hands of the abolitionists under the auspices of the Province of Freedom beginning in 1786. However, it begins with the eighteenth-century developments that would create the context for abolition, recolonization, and exploration of Africa simultaneously. The three worked in tandem, with

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<sup>68</sup> Sara Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing: African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement* (New York: NYU Press, 2015), 7-15.

<sup>69</sup> James Ciment, *Another America: The Story of Liberia and the Former Slaves Who Ruled It* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014).

exploration and the resulting maps laying one of the cornerstones for the interest in recolonization that would then, in turn, fuel support for moves towards abolition, whether intended or not. Following the outlawing of slavery in England in the Somerset Case in 1772, activists and business leaders sought to find a way to clear the impoverished Blacks from the streets of London. The solution was born out of a trip funded by an adventurer Henry Smeathman, who was hired because of his promise of an agricultural improvement but came back after a long side trip through the Middle Passage with a plan that became the future colony's foundation. The problem was that Smeathman and the other investors based their idea on a series of misunderstandings and misinformation abetted by the budding print culture of maps and pamphlets.

Abolitionist activist Granville Sharp latched on to Henry Smeathmen's plan, but with significant changes that inadvertently made it harder to succeed. With his fortune being used to feed the poor Blacks of London, Sharp rewrote Smeathman's plan to include a utopian democracy and reached out to abolitionist circles for help. The campaign was successful at first, thanks to Sharp's transatlantic publicity and the agreement of a leading African immigrant, Olaudah Equiano, to join the group. Olaudah and over half of the intended colonists refused to go after realizing that the white elites ignored the corruption of other whites involved, foreshadowing the eventual reality of the colony. Sharp withheld word of the complete physical annihilation of the new settlement from the broader abolitionist community. The promise of an economical solution provided more support for a new organization's formation, which is credited with being the nucleus of support for the abolishment of the slave trade.

With the abolitionist colony in reality in shambles, Sharp turned over the organization and received a refund of his expenses from a group of British banking elites led by Dr. Henry

Thornton, and which is the topic of Chapter 3. Thornton and friends continued to use the moral high ground of the previous organization in print but completely remade of the colony along the lines of the penal colony system of the last century, with a bi-racial understanding of labor that left whites consistently in control of all Blacks. Even as newspaper readers dealt with the outpouring of slave revolts and the expanding abolitionist campaign, each account of Sierra Leone blamed the black colonists for the failures instead of the colony's obvious problems. Meanwhile, economic plans for West Africa grew with exploration and the promise of a friendly port forming in Freetown. A group of Free People of Color in the northern United States tried to join the movement. However, the white American press began to talk excitedly about removing all free Blacks. This effectively exemplified a need to be cautious about any move to develop networks in West Africa as it might facilitate mass deportation of African Americans from the land of their birth. The Sierra Leone Company kept news of its impending bankruptcy from reaching the British public until the passage of the act to end the slave trade allowed the government to encumber the organization's debts in a rider.

Chapter four shows that during what has generally been treated as a period in-between the British and American moves toward colonization, under the auspices of the African Institute, Sierra Leone went through a third iteration of boosters who still attempted to sell the idea of economic and political expansion, with the gathering voices of black partner chapters in America showing interest. The African American chapters of the African Institute sought to create an avenue for autonomy and success separate from either white-controlled country and thought that the time was ripe for a move to open the trade network to the land of their ancestors. Meanwhile, as a newly minted British Crown Colony, the actual bulk of the population of Sierra Leone took shape. Spanish and Portuguese ships full of slaves bound for America can captured by the British

where, in turn, offloaded in Sierra Leone, in many cases over 2,000 miles away from their actual homes. While African Americans carefully tried to open trading missions with Africa in conjunction with their British counterparts, interest among the American political and business elite grew in the face of slave revolts and economic upheaval at the hands of the British in the War of 1812, laying the groundwork for the white American-led initiative and the temporary defeat of black wishes.

Chapter 5 documents how, following renewed fears of revolt brought on by the close call in the War of 1812, as well as news of support from black leaders, the next push came from a Who's Who list of early American political and economic leaders supporting an ambitious advertising campaign throughout the era. Caught in-between desires to "civilize" their ancestral continent and their frustration with white-led schemes, Blacks redirected their efforts away from migration and to education and economic opportunities. They turned their backs in almost perfect unison with the emergence of a rival campaign aimed at bringing about emancipation without strings. While not wholly silent on American moves, the English capitalist enjoyed the newfound wealth derived from the work of re-captives of the slave trade. The British investor saw an opening for economic opportunity, while white Americans saw a chance to expand the reach of trade with expanded migration of English-speaking Blacks to the west coast of Africa. The spirit of autonomy led to the recolonization of a sizable amount of the Free People of Color from the United States and some from throughout the other reaches of the British Empire in a brief movement to create a "Republic of Blacks" in present-day Haiti that rivaled and neutered the white-led recolonization organization. With well-publicized slave revolts breaking out across the Atlantic plantation systems, both British and American leaders closely followed the

misleading news of agricultural expansion in Sierra Leone and opportunities throughout West Africa offered by scientific journals and maps by explorers.

Chapter 6 examines how white leaders, with the imaginary foundation laid despite a lack of economic numbers to back up claims, once again looked to Africa to replace the economic disruption in the ending of slavery in the British Empire. Whites from both sides of the Atlantic paid close attention in the newspapers to the small increase in Blacks willing to go, interpreting it once again as the start of a wholesale movement, and financial support and schemes for additional investment in West Africa expanded. However, the news of death, disease, and oppression of natives clearly documented by Blacks helped to thwart further migration and solidified the determination of the bulk of Free People of Color to stay. The economic depression that followed the end of slavery hit the first West African markets badly. Yet, blame for the failures were placed on the black colonists. Newspapers instead concentrated on keeping old ideas alive, with rapidly industrializing societies still looking to West Africa as an opportunity. The white support for this middle path of racism without slavery only received a little traction, but the multiple independent entities developing in the West Africa coast embraced what autonomy was available to them.

Chapter 7 covers the most considerable expansion of actual black migration during the Age of Abolition, yet even this was small compared to the designs of the ACS, many chapters of which, as the organization spread westward and southward, sought to set up their own individual colonies. The news of Liberia having formed an independent free nation of Blacks was a fallacy propagated by whites, and African Americans spoke against in large numbers, effectively curtailing British investment. Yet this was met with claims of deception from white Americans. As each new chapter began to form in hopes of creating its own separate colony, they found it

impossible to get any colonists to go freely, and finally resorted to outright deportation, even as publications portrayed the move as the best option for Blacks, and despite their protests.

Throughout all the rhetoric of the era, the conversation still centered on the connection between the ending of the slave trade and recolonization, leading to the continued development of a centrist attitude in the United States that wanted neither the fears and problems of slavery nor the implications of a bi-racial society.

While the British moved on to embracing other avenues of exploiting Africa, storm clouds were gathering in North America. The hardening lines of support for and against emancipation among radicals led Southern newspapers and supporters to give up entirely on recolonization and begin talking of it openly as propaganda to end slavery. In the North, support for recolonization as a final answer to avoiding economic downturn and a bi-racial society was given voice through newspaper reporting on two events. First, the United States expanded the system of recapturing foreign and illegal slave ships to provide a labor force for the West African colonies, no longer leaving this lucrative step to the British. And in 1860 an avid pro-colonizationist president and congress began, even amid civil war, to support another wave of recolonization. Nevertheless, the black population made it clear that the majority wanted to concentrate on the establishment of education and business networks at home instead of emigration. The situation in both the United States and Great Britain led to the consolidation of the multiple plans and schemes into the two countries of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

The concluding chapter opens with an analysis of how the complete deterioration of white support for migration to Africa, and the reality of a bi-racial society emerging in the United States, led to the immediate rewriting of the historical record of recolonization. Even as black support for connecting with Africa expanded across America, overlapping with the exodus

movement, whites in the South loudly began to talk of reconlonization as a scheme to dupe poor Blacks, even as they found ways to continue to exploit the black population for economic purposes and keep it segregated at the same time. In the North, all attention to West Africa disappeared, which freed whites to continue to hold racist attitudes towards Blacks even while taking on the mantle of liberators. The British meanwhile expanded their control of Africa through plans that no longer needed black colonists. Liberia eventually became one large rubber plantation for the Firestone Company, with the American Colonization Society hanging on in name only until 1963.

In 2018, the scion and latest political leader from the Kennedy dynasty, Joseph Kennedy III, tried out what he called a new economic creed for the democratic party—moral capitalism. Under this supposedly new ideological construction for the government, the party should advocate policies based on helping corporations to be socially responsible, thus making the average American better off through the decisions of a philanthropically-minded corporate America. While it is true that the term is new to the realm of government, the concept is an integral part of western civilization’s story.<sup>70</sup> This dissertation deals with a relatively small piece of the broader discussion of the ending of chattel slavery in the Atlantic World and the role of moral capitalism in forming that debate. The Anglo-Atlantic obsession with recolonization came from trying to find a solution to the perceived problem of how to cushion the economic effects of the moral act of ending slavery. The attempted recolonization of slavery’s victims was a response to the problem of how to extricate society from the clutches of slavery, engineered by

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<sup>70</sup> Steve Leblanc, “US Rep. Kennedy: Democrats Should Embrace ‘Moral Capitalism’” AP News, <https://www.apnews.com/e91275df520c439b9f6110a12e7e4efe> (February 16, 2019). Kennedy’s ‘creed’ is loosely based on Stephen Young, *Moral Capitalism: Reconciling Private Interest with the Public Good* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2003).



business and political leaders; however, those individuals at the center of the plan successfully resisted it.

Though the fear of slave revolts and miscegenation played an integral part in forming the multiple plans that made up the movement, the failures of those plans was covered up thanks to the constant propaganda perpetrated in print throughout the Anglo-Atlantic. Through maps, the language of moral righteousness, and pseudo-scientific reports, white men with financial investments, political influence, and access to printing created an extensive campaign to send former slaves to Africa to create economic opportunities for white investors. Historians have looking at this movement as a failure by measuring its meager successes against the audacity of its plans, but these leaders of the English-speaking Atlantic were used to thinking in large and bold ideas to reshape the world according to their perceptions. With the movement's vigorous campaigns in the public sphere, the financing for a ship to Liberia came through anytime the white community saw an ounce of hope. Yet very few individuals with black skin left their homes within the English-speaking world to fulfill the desires of white leaders in business and politics. As Maria Stewart observed, "They would drive us to a strange land. But before I go, the bayonet shall pierce me through."<sup>71</sup> The numbers prove that most agreed with her.

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<sup>71</sup> Maria Stewart, "Lecture Delivered at Franklin Hall, Boston" September 21, 1832 in Stewart, Maria W., and Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 46 – 48.

Chapter 2  
PROVENCE OF FREEDOM  
1786 – 1790



Figure 5 The Poor Blacks Going to Their Settlement. England, 1787. [London: Pubd. as the Act directs, for the Proprietor, by E. Mackle] Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95503382/>.

In the summer of 1787, business leaders sent by their states to the Constitutional Convention were present in every tavern and coffee shop of Philadelphia. They sat and drank, reading the latest newspapers from Philadelphia or London.<sup>72</sup> Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was one of them. The de facto leader of the South Carolina delegation, Pinckney was one of the largest slaveholders in the country. He earned a reputation as a vehement defender of slavery in the making of the Constitution. He led the charge early in the summer to ensure that slaves counted as three-fifths of a person in the apportionment of federal representatives. His most infamous moment came on July 23 when he stopped a discussion of the legislative branch to issue a threat. Pinckney proclaimed that he and the other Deep South delegates would not sign the document, no matter the trivial discussion of apportionment, if it did not expressly state that the congress could not levy taxes on slaves or end the slave trade.<sup>73</sup> In the end, a compromise put a moratorium on ending the import of slaves from Africa for twenty years—a span that saw Pickney and his fellow planters import record numbers of slaves into South Carolina.<sup>74</sup>

The argument among leaders of the northern and middle states contended that the system of slavery was unmanageable as well as morally bankrupt. They were responding to such sentiments written across the pages of the local newspapers. These included reports of the actions of Great Britain, America's most significant trading partner. The reports included news

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<sup>72</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013) 132, 134.

<sup>73</sup> James Madison, "James Madison's Notes of the Constitutional Convention" *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*. Vol. 2. Ed. Max Farrand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911) 87-96.

<sup>74</sup> From 1717-1767 the total number of slaves imported to South Carolina was 32,663. Following the American Revolution the number of slaves imported immediately began to increase with 1783 to 1784 alone reaching an estimated 6,562. Even with various attempts to halt or slow down the number imported, by the last seven years of the legal slave trade, 1800-1807 South Carolina imported 39,075. See Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991) 212-213; Littlefield, Daniel C. "The Slave Trade to Colonial South Carolina: A Profile." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 101, no. 2 (2000): 110-41; Brady, Patrick S. "The Slave Trade and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1787-1808." *The Journal of Southern History* 38, no. 4 (1972): 601-20.

of a new abolitionist faction in the English parliament, supported by an exterior organization of business leaders called the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Also repeated in the papers of Philadelphia was news of three ships setting sail from England to Africa to start the new colony, the Provence of Freedom.<sup>75</sup> This new English colony was to resettle former slaves from England to a spot on the West African coast known for its large bay and good portage. The Provence promised to create a space in Africa free of slavery, which would also bring great profits through lands dedicated to expanding the production of the cash crops of sugar, cotton, and indigo while creating new markets by serving as a connection between the English-speaking trading system and the untapped interior indigenous groups of Africa. After his vehement defense of slavery, it would seem incongruous that Pickney would be a proponent of recolonization for most of the rest of his life. Within twenty years of the ending of the slave trade that he was willing to do anything to preserve in 1787, he went on to fund the creation of an American colony of free Blacks in West Africa.<sup>76</sup> Ending the slave trade was a persistent call in all recolonization efforts, which originally caused Pinckney to panic at the efforts of the abolitionists and colonizationists during the first phase of recolonization. However, with his own wealth secured, his sentiments changed within just a few short years as Pinckney and other southerners came to see the colonies as an escape valve for the slave system, not a move toward emancipation. Herein lies the story of the first African colonization attempt, the Provence of Freedom, and how it fits into the larger push for recolonization.

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<sup>75</sup> *The Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 09 July 1787, Front Page; *The Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 13 Jul 1787, Page 3.

<sup>76</sup> Ford, Lacy K. *Deliver Us from Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South, 1787-1840*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 622.

### 2.1.1 Historiography

The historical record consistently overlooks the unique story and effect of the Province of Freedom.<sup>77</sup> As far back as the earliest chronicler, Thomas Clarkson—himself a part of the succeeding colony of Sierra Leone—the record includes this first colony within the story of later attempts.<sup>78</sup> Clarkson’s work became the bedrock of all future studies of Sierra Leone. While some of the few colonists who survived this first attempt at Granville Town (just east of present-day downtown Freetown, Sierra Leone) would seep into the next colony grafted on top of theirs, the two colonies were at their base different.

Despite this homogeneity in the historiography, there is an exception. An African immigrant living in England in 1969 named Johnson U. J. Asiegbu published a dissertation called “Slavery and the Politics of Liberation, 1787-1861.”<sup>79</sup> Asiegbu’s forgotten dissertation sought not to give the English perspective on abolition, but the perspective of “liberated Africans, the immediate and direct beneficiaries of the acts of abolition.”<sup>80</sup> In his research within English archives, he encountered the separation between the founders of Sierra Leone and the earlier colony. Asiegbu found the separation to be an important one, as the earlier attempt was founded by strict

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<sup>77</sup> Even the mention of the original colony’s name, Province of Freedom, happens sporadically in the historiography, Joseph Kaifala, *Free Slaves, Freetown, and the Sierra Leonean Civil War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 82,121; Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2007); Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown Black Loyalists after the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999) 67; Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London’s Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994) 201.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament (Nouv. Ed.) / by Thomas Clarkson; a New Ed. with Prefatory Remarks on the Subsequent Abolition of Slavery* (London: J. W. Parker, 1839). <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k618804>.

<sup>79</sup> Asiegbu, Johnson U. J. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1969).

<sup>80</sup> Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861*, xvi.

abolitionists, whereas the economic output was of greater importance to the members of the second colony.<sup>81</sup>

Both the reason for the separate foundations of the Province of Freedom and its inclusion with the other attempts are essential to understanding the concept of recolonization. Granville Sharp's first colony used the language of abolition, and people who saw slavery as morally evil backed it. However, they did so surrounded by men concerned for the good of the British imperial economic network.<sup>82</sup> Granville Town itself would be wiped off all maps and largely forgotten following the burning of the village in 1789. The failure of this first colony had to be consumed by the next as if the utopian attitudes of Granville Sharp himself was the only problem. The inherent problem in such an attempt is that it obscures the reasons for the colony coming to fruition and its catastrophic death count. This first attempt should be understood as separate, not only because of its rhetoric but also because of the refutation of the enterprise at the last minute by the black residents of England whom the enterprise sought to send.

### 2.2.1 White Money – The British Atlantic

The birth year of the recolonization movement should be understood as 1787, but it was conceived long before. As early as 1714, an anonymous self-proclaimed “native” of New Jersey placed an advertisement in a newspaper for a plan to send Blacks “back to Africa.” If not feasible, then he called for sending them “beyond the limits of continental America or to an

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<sup>81</sup> Asiegbu, Johnson U. J. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1969) 179-186.

<sup>82</sup> Robert S. Fitton and Alfred P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights: 1758-1830; a Study of the Early Factory System* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1964); David Hancock, *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Edward Grierson, *The Death of the Imperial Dream: The British Commonwealth & Empire, 1775-1969* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1972); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Oscar Reis, *Blacks in Colonial America* (London: McFarland & Co. Inc. 1997) 145-157.

unsettled area of public lands.”<sup>83</sup> It would be easy to see this comment as one of an enlightened gentleman seeing the immediate problem around him and trying to help the cause of abolition, but this is unlikely. Instead, his timing suggests a change in attitude caused by policy shifts in the colony. New Jersey had known slavery from its early days as a Dutch colony, and British policy only expanded the slave economy by including slaves along with indentured servants and other workers in the tally that gave large-scale farmers more land under a system known as a headright. In 1714, as the unnamed citizen of New Jersey wrote these words, the colony’s colonial legislature had changed course and began to charge £10 per slave. The change encouraged the importation of white servants “for the better peopling of the country.”<sup>84</sup> However, no matter the level of fear of miscegenation or revolt, the first inkling of the recolonizing movement came from a colonial economy in which the slave acted as capital one step removed from livestock.

While the British were far from the first to take part in the slave trade, throughout the eighteenth century they expanded the scale of the trade to previously unbelievable proportions, importing 3.2 million slaves. Beginning in 1712, the government removed the previous restrictions limiting the trade of the Royal African Company, the monopoly that since 1672 had controlled all legal trade in slaves owned by the King and creditors.<sup>85</sup> The Atlantic slave trade increased from 4.8% of total British trade in 1720 to 10.8% by 1750.<sup>86</sup> The British accounted for a large part of the increase. The breaking of the Royal African Company profited the merchant

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<sup>83</sup> Sherwood, H. N. "Early Negro Deportation Projects." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (1916): 484-508; H.N. Sherwood "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *Journal of Negro History* 2:3 (July 1917), 209.

<sup>84</sup> Simon F. Moss "The Persistence of Slavery and involuntary Servitude in a Free State" *Journal of Negro History* 35:3 (July 1950), 293-294.

<sup>85</sup> William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013) 4.

<sup>86</sup> Blackburn, Robin. *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2013) 313.

class in London, Bristol, and Liverpool. The upward mobility of some white Englishmen expanded dramatically, as with just a small number of investors one ship filled with human cargo could turn into a fleet. The slave trade thus played a central role in creating a British business community that was involved internationally, both on a large and private scale.<sup>87</sup> The campaign to unseat the Royal African Company that culminated in the 1750s also gave an example to abolitionists and recolonizationists of the power of public support to change the way business was conducted in Britain.<sup>88</sup>

By mid-century, Malachy Postlethwayt, a leading publisher of the London Enlightenment, tried to show which places throughout the world were ripe for British expansion in *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*.<sup>89</sup> Unlike later writers, his stance against slavery is framed unambiguously as a logical necessity for British imperial expansion, with no moralizing. The extent of his humanitarianism was to think that any expansion of British colonists into the African continent was good. As in his discussion of other locales, he concentrated on the potential natural wealth of the region. His understanding of Africa was based on it being the source for the labor that provided British wealth, but he believed that the continent offered much more for English willing to go inland.

The British found that slavery had its physical limits to generating wealth. Following the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the British saw that the slave trade had become central to its over 1% annual GDP growth. However, starting in 1789, this fell sharply as businessmen in the new country began to trade directly with Africa, sidestepping the British.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile, the

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<sup>87</sup> William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013) 6, 12-13.

<sup>88</sup> William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt, 1672-1752*, 211.

<sup>89</sup> Derek R. Peterson, *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010) 97-98.

<sup>90</sup> John J MucCusker & Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 231-234, 371.



future of a Pax-Britannica trade empire became apparent with the increase in the trading of other goods with the United States, multiple countries in South America, and most critically, India. With the new colonial endeavor starting in Australia, the English trade network covered ports in most of the world. Nevertheless, the Dark Continent sat there waiting—from an English viewpoint.<sup>91</sup>

Following the end of the Seven Years War, the English attempted to create a colony they called Senegambia, at present-day Saint Louis, Senegal. The colony both laid the foundation for various later recolonization plans and led investors of England to believe that those of African descent would be required to avoid its failures. Established as an official British colony in 1765, Senegambia was legally disbanded in the Treaty of 1783. The colony's elaborate constitution only served a few white settlers, but it fulfilled its primary job as a connection point for slave trading operations. From the beginning, the colony was a disaster, as most of the small group of white colonists died prematurely. Like other colonial ventures, the relationship with neighboring indigenous groups was a complicated dance of support and suspicion. On the one hand, the local indigenous groups had an incentive for appeasement as the smaller and impoverished colony could act as a trading partner. On the other hand, with the backing of the British ships coming into port, the indigenous kept a watch in case of an aggressive expansion into their own realm of influence. The investors saw their profits disappear, as the diseased colonists could do no farming and the land proved difficult for the transportation of goods other than the commodity of slaves.<sup>92</sup> The system of slavery caused people with black skin to be viewed as different; therefore, white people saw them as somehow impervious to the sicknesses that were killing the

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<sup>91</sup> Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2007) 89-123.

<sup>92</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 275.

white settlers. Any further development inland was perceived as requiring individuals of African descent. With racial construction baked into the scientific understanding of the era, British inability to get to the riches of Africa for themselves and the empire could not be successful without people of African descent.

English racism had an arsenal of support in print. One of the definitive early eighteenth-century maps of West Africa, made by Herman Moll, solidified this in the nomenclature by calling the central part of the interior “Negroland” (see Figure 2).<sup>93</sup> A central part of the development of the English need to recolonize Blacks in West Africa came from what they saw in maps of the region. As part of the imperial designs of several European countries, new maps of Africa appeared with frequency throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>94</sup> With a lack of European exploration, many mapmakers attempted to fill in where information was lacking with their best suppositions. They created mountains and riverbeds where none existed.<sup>95</sup> Moll created maps for the empire that displayed sources of income but also set lines on unsuspecting far-flung regions

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<sup>93</sup> Herman Moll, *Negroland and Guinea with the European Settlements, Explaining what belongs to England, Holland, Denmark, etc.* By [H. Moll](#) Geographer (Printed and sold by T. Bowles next ye Chapter House in St. Pauls Church yard, & I. Bowles at ye Black Horse in Cornhill, 1729, orig. published in 1727).

<sup>94</sup> Baesjou, René. “The Historical Evidence in Old Maps and Charts of Africa with Special Reference to West Africa.” *History in Africa* 15 (1988): 3-5. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.uta.edu/10.2307/3171856>.

<sup>95</sup> Bassett, Thomas J., and Philip W. Porter. “From the Best Authorities!: The Mountains of Kong in the Cartography of West Africa.” *The Journal of African History* 32, no. 3 (1991): 367–413. [www.jstor.org/stable/182661](http://www.jstor.org/stable/182661).

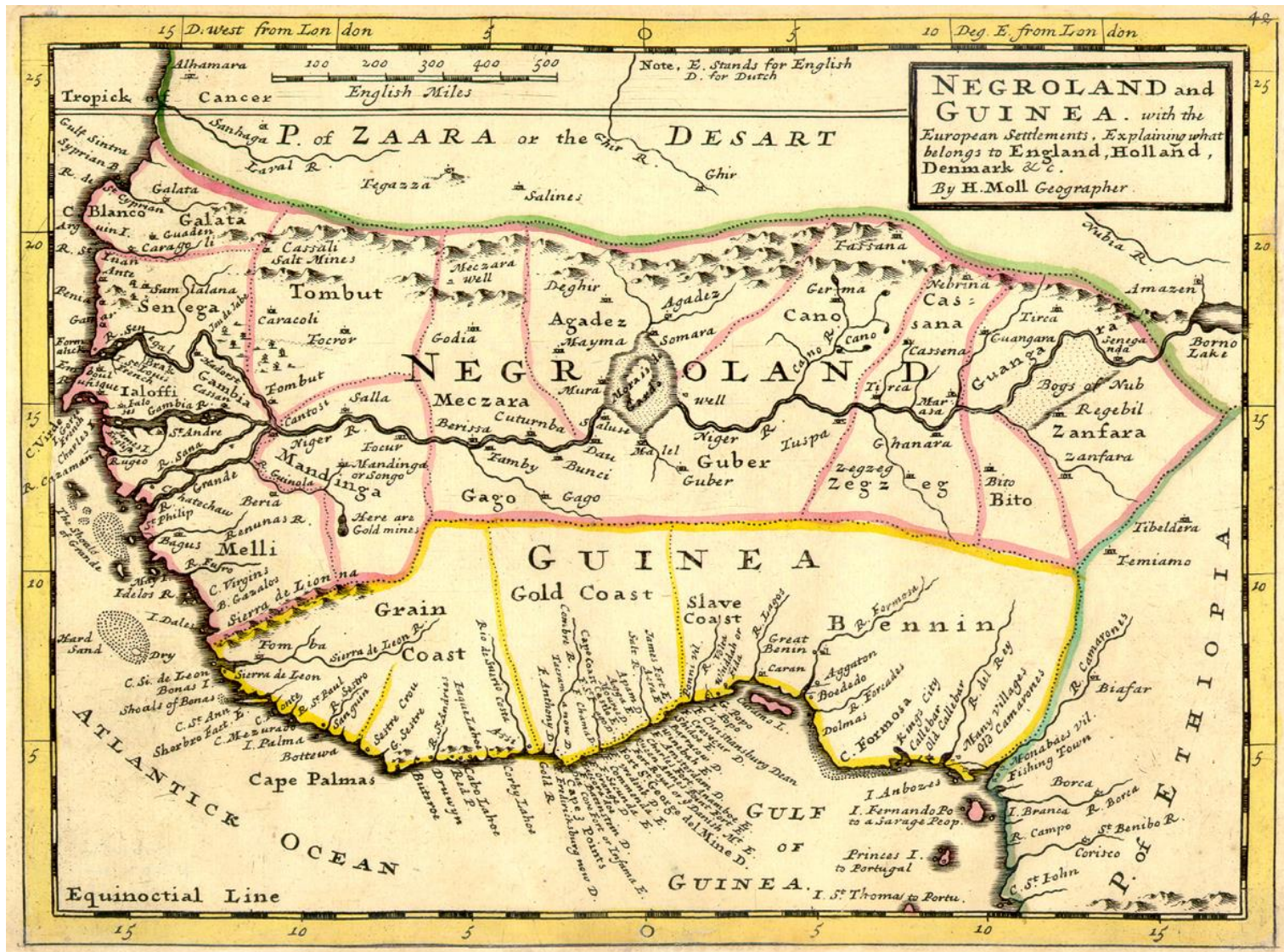


Figure 6 Herman Moll, 'Negroland and Guinea with the European Settlements, Explaining what belongs to England, Holland, Denmark, etc'. By [H. Moll](#) Geographer (Printed and sold by T. Bowles next ye Chapter House in St. Pauls Church yard, & I. Bowles at ye Black Horse in Cornhill, 1729, orig. published in 1727).

of the world as definitively English, as seen in the map above. In this instance, he delineates the land of West Africa as divided among the English, the Dutch, and Denmark. The subdivisions in-between were based on the crudest of information from travel writers who were often wrong. As Moll's friend and fellow member of the enlightenment, Jonathan Swift, said of the field:

So geographers, in Africa maps,  
With savage pictures fill their gaps,  
And o'er unhabitable downs  
Place elephants for want of towns.<sup>96</sup>

Swift was not the only one who saw through the cartographical image of the time. There was an understandable desire to fill in the gaps. In the middle of the century, the enlightened cartographers' purge of hearsay from their maps led to charts without fabrication, yet some elements seemed destined to continue to create imagined spaces that were quite different. As the century came to a close, there was a glut of maps of Africa and West Africa specifically, such as the one by Samuel Boulton published from 1787 until 1796 that include a close-up of the West African – *nomen est omen* – Gold Coast in modern Ghana (Fig 3).

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<sup>96</sup> Jonathan Swift, "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 3 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 2:645-646.





Figure 7 (Composite of) Africa, with all its states, kingdoms, republics, regions, islands, &c. Improved and enlarged from D'Anville's map; to which have been added a particular chart of the Gold coast, wherein are distinguished all the European forts and factories. By S. Boulton, and also a summary description relative to the trade and natural produce, manners and customs of the African continent and islands. London, printed for Robert Sayer, Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 6 Jany. 1787.

Boulton's map was an improvement and enlargement of the 1765 groundbreaking purged map by French cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville. Boulton added information from multiple unnamed sources on various coastal areas of the continent. In the section on the Grain Coast, where the Sierra Leone River met the Atlantic, Boulton had quite a bit to say about the region in which the colony would soon be located. The region had reportedly but two seasons, winter and summer. He made it clear that during the summer, "thick stinking fogs" descended, making it "very unhealthful to foreigners."<sup>97</sup> While former slaves were foreigners to the region who experienced many problems with the weather, the reference to foreigners did not apply to Blacks as they were not considered foreigners but as merely going "back to Africa," no matter their place of birth. The only comment about the natives of this area was a contribution from slave traders: "Our factors observe this people don't want sense, but employ it to the vilest purpose, namely in defrauding all the Europeans they deal with." Boulton makes it clear that the region needs the "contribution of Christians."<sup>98</sup> The amount of rain and the moniker "the Grain Coast" add to the idea that the region would be suitable for farming.

Boulton published the map in 1787 as a large wall piece in four sections, sold separately by the leading publisher of Fleet Street, Robert Sayer. Sayer was involved with the coffee house crowd of the business district that persisted long after the time of Swift and Moll. One of Sayer's close associates whom he regularly passed on information to would become central to the exploration of West Africa: Sir Joseph Banks.<sup>99</sup> Banks made his name writing the definitive

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<sup>97</sup> *(Composite of) Africa, with all its states, kingdoms, republics, regions, islands, &ca. Improved and enlarged from D'Anville's map; to which have been added a particular chart of the Gold coast, wherein are distinguished all the European forts and factories. By S. Boulton, and also a summary description relative to the trade and natural produce, manners and customs of the African continent and islands* (London, printed for Robert Sayer, Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 6 Jany. 1787).

<sup>98</sup> *(Composite of) Africa*, S. Boulton. 1787.

<sup>99</sup> David Bosse "The Maps of Robert Roger and Jonathan Carver" *The American magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Vol 1, No 2 (1985) 53.

work on Captain James Cook's first voyage to the Pacific, with which he had traveled as a naturalist, and which opened the continent of Australia to British colonization.<sup>100</sup> Banks used his connections to King George III to become the president of the prestigious Royal Society and several other scientific associations that helped to expand the economic realm of the empire. While he is probably best known for his contributions to setting the foundations of Kew Gardens and the British Museum, he was involved in such botanical and cultural artifacts in order to increase his own wealth and prestige.<sup>101</sup>

Though far from an abolitionist, Banks became inadvertently pivotal in the creation of the first African colony, as well as an open supporter of the second. As one of the explorers of Australia, Banks became an advocate and funder for colonization attempts throughout the Pacific and Indian oceans. From anyone that he sponsored, he asked for unusual plant specimens, and any information about the item's purpose to natives. He used his skills as a botanist and a writer to raise even more support for ventures.<sup>102</sup> At the dawn of the 1770s, he became interested in the resources of Africa. Long thought of as primarily a source of minerals like gold and of slaves, Banks saw in Africa a chance for new products that could be incorporated into trade within the empire. With his reputation, he attracted individuals interested in adventure and science, but the backbone of all his undertakings was the desire to expand his wealth and reputation, as well as the empire.<sup>103</sup> In 1787 he published a write-up of cotton plants growing naturally in West Africa, which was based on a packet from an explorer. Within a month, seventeen textile firms in Manchester attempted to enlist help from the government to push into the West African coast to

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<sup>100</sup> Patricia Fara, *Sex, Botany and Empire: The Story of Carl Linnaeus and Joseph Banks* (London: Icon Books, 2017) 5.

<sup>101</sup> Patricia Fara, *Sex, Botany and Empire*, 40, 57, 135-136.

<sup>102</sup> Patricia Fara, *Sex, Botany and Empire*, 138 - 145.

<sup>103</sup> The Sir Joseph Banks Collection, UKA Control Number: rgs213282 Publisher: 1788-1811.

feed their cotton mills.<sup>104</sup> In his quest to find out more about West Africa, he would easily work with slave trading factors, ignoring the cruel nature of their business. Banks put most of his funding behind finding an explorer who could penetrate the interior of West Africa. He and other business leaders involved were also always willing to help in the creation of another port. As the eighteenth century wore on, these investors did not limit their sites to one region, but across the world. These men embraced the modern concepts of reason and logic to find ways to expand their wealth, bringing the English government along with them when needed. As one African American wrote after moving to London to operate a shop, he “loved England for its freedom and for the many blessings he enjoyed,” but “the grand object of English Navigators, indeed of all Christian navigators is money – Money – Money- Money.”<sup>105</sup> It would take endeavors funded by Banks and his friends to find a way to successfully destroy the trade in humans before English greed would be satiated.

Among the early investors in the exploration of Africa, Banks and his friends found one man who would inadvertently bridge the gap between their interests and the immediate abolitionist cause: Henry Smeathman. Insects and termites fascinated Smeathman. His desire for adventure and interest in climbing the social ladder in the process fueled his research on insects. Funded by Banks and his friends, Smeathman sailed to West Africa out of the port of Liverpool, a hub for the British slave trade.<sup>106</sup> Smeathman did not feel perturbed by his shipmaster's status

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<sup>104</sup> UK National Archives, Kew, BT 6/140, folders 34-35, William Frodsham to the Lords Committee of the Privy Council of Trade, Nov 30, 1787.

<sup>105</sup> Ignatius Sancho to J. W., *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African. To Which are Prefixed, Memoirs of his Life* (London: Printed by J. Nichols; and sold by C. Dilly 1784) 189.

[https://archive.org/details/lettersoflateign00sanc\\_0/page/188/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/lettersoflateign00sanc_0/page/188/mode/2up)

<sup>106</sup> Deirdre Coleman, *Henry Smeathman, the Flycatcher: Natural History, Slavery and Empire in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University press, 2018), 44; Henry Smeathman to Dr. Thomas Knowles, [1783] and July 21, 1783, in *New-Jerusalem Magazine* (London, 1790), 279–94 UK National Archives; Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786–1791* (Liverpool, 1994), 5–9; Christopher L. Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 2006), 260.



as a slaver. Instead, he thought of them as gentlemen.<sup>107</sup> Smeathman's goal was to ingratiate himself with local tribes in the hope of unlocking secrets about the possible use of termite mounds as fertilizer to grow crops in the depleted soils of the British Empire. After four years in West Africa, Smeathman felt that he had gained the necessary knowledge to return to London and gain financial backing for his project.<sup>108</sup> However, he was forced to take an indirect route and found himself in the center of the Atlantic slave trading triangle, en route to the Caribbean. Witnessing firsthand the horrors of the Middle Passage, he recorded in a piece sent back to possible benefactors, entitled *Oeconomy of a Slave Ship*, the "confused noise of human voices & the cla[n]king of chains...[which] affects a sensible being with inexpressible horror."<sup>109</sup> However, the bulk of the work was dedicated to a sympathetic portrayal of the sailor who must guard against insurrection, and a systematic dissection of why a slave ship did not make economic sense with the loss of profit in the high number of slaves who did not survive the voyage.<sup>110</sup>

In desperate need of funds for his scientific enterprise, Smeathman agreed to stay on in the islands to help planters with cultivation for the growing season. He found his trip to England delayed even further by a revolt of the thirteen British colonies on the mainland coast. The American Revolution stranded Smeathman in the Caribbean until 1779.<sup>111</sup> His extended stay

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<sup>107</sup> Starr Douglas and Felix Driver, "Imagining the Tropical Colony: Henry Smeathman and the Termites of Sierra Leone" in Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, eds. *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2005) 102-104, 106.

<sup>108</sup> *Some account of the termites, which are found in Africa and other hot climates. By Mr. Henry Smeathman, of Clement's Inn. Read at the Royal Society, February 15, 1781.* (London: J. Nichols, 1781); Deirdre Coleman, *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-slavery*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009) 79.

<sup>109</sup> Henry Smeathman, 'Oeconomy of a Slave Ship.' from Deirdre Coleman, "Henry Smeathman and the Natural Economy of Slavery" in Brycchan Carey and Peter J. Kitson, ed. *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2007)

<sup>110</sup> Deirdre Coleman, "Henry Smeathman and the Natural Economy of Slavery" in Brycchan Carey and Peter J. Kitson, ed. *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2007).

<sup>111</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 261.

gave him ample time to observe termites, as well as the treatment of African slaves. When he finally returned to London, he published his findings on the termites, but to little or no fanfare.<sup>112</sup> Banks had moved on to fund other explorers, having gotten the information on plants and natives that he was interested in from Smeathman's letters.<sup>113</sup> One of the original investors who showed continuing interest in funding him died the same year as his return, before he could even publish his findings.<sup>114</sup> Left with little prospect of completing his desired empire of termites, Smeathman sought another way of making his fortune based on the network he had developed in Africa. He would find it among the growing number of abolitionists.

### 2.2.2 White Money – The Abolitionist

The story of the slave James Somerset's trial rippled across the Atlantic through the year 1772.<sup>115</sup> On June 22 the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, ruled that no moral or political reason allowed for the return to bondage of Somerset. In this one ruling, Mansfield had established a legal precedent of freedom for any slave brought into England. In Virginia, the discussion raged of whether or not his ruling would be enforced on the colonies, or if the West Indies lobby would orchestrate a reversal of the ruling. Neither would happen, but the fear that the ruling created was still palpable as the year ended.<sup>116</sup>

In England, a new problem was beginning to arise. Mansfield's ruling meant that hundreds of slaves across England were now both free and homeless. While fears of the

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<sup>112</sup> Deirdre Coleman, *Henry Smeathman, the Flycatcher: Natural History, Slavery and Empire in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University press, 2018), 44.

<sup>113</sup> Anthony Sattin, *The Gates of Africa: Death, Discovery, and the Search for Timbuktu* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005) 44-50.

<sup>114</sup> *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Advertiser* (Leeds, West Yorkshire, England) 02 Jan 1781, Front Page.

<sup>115</sup> *The Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 03 Aug 1772, Page 2; *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette* (Charleston, South Carolina) 03 Aug 1772, Front page.

<sup>116</sup> *Rind's Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Virginia) 12 Nov 1772, Page 2.

“mongrelization of the white race” abounded throughout London, the newly freed slaves made their way to the city in search of employment.<sup>117</sup> Cries of what to do with the “black poor” would only be exacerbated as more and more slaves found their way off of ships onto English soil.<sup>118</sup> An attitude developed that viewed their inability to procure employment as their own fault, however a small but growing number of the former slaves now in England fought back against this premise, even as they struggled to find ways of feeding their multiplying numbers. The abolitionist movement faced its first real test within the English-speaking world, and it was faltering badly.

One British prosecutor became the touchstone for the abolitionist cause and the plight of the “black poor”: Granville Sharp. Having come in contact, through his job as a clerk for the government in the 1760s, with the cruel nature of slavery, Sharp became an active defender of the rights of black people in England. The first whites to embrace the cause of abolition all did so after having up-close and personal interactions with slavery while not being direct profiteers of the system. Sharp’s American counterpart and friend, Anthony Benezit, voiced his opposition to the system after witnessing decades of female-only slave sales at the shop across the street from him in Philadelphia.<sup>119</sup> Sharp intervened on several occasions with a writ of Habeas Corpus to stop the re-enslavement of Blacks who had found their way onto English soil.<sup>120</sup> As the news of his actions spread among the “black poor” of London, they turned to him for financial help. However, Sharp was not a wealthy man, and his power to help was limited, so he turned to others for aid.

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<sup>117</sup> Winthrop D Jordan, *White Over Black* (Chapel Hill, N C: University of North Carolina Press. 1968), 546.

<sup>118</sup> Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994) 198.

<sup>119</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 10 Oct 1751, Page 3.

<sup>120</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 92 – 101; Steven Wise 217, 218; Asiegbu, Johnson U. J. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1969) 63.

Elites from within the Quaker faith felt pressure from their religion and their business dealings to find ways to replace slavery.<sup>121</sup> Sharp, for his part, began corresponding with Quaker business leaders in America, showing empathy for their position that the slave trade was at fault for the evil of chattel slavery, and therefore the mother country's system was also the problem.<sup>122</sup> Thanks to his connections with American Quakers, and his vociferous calls for ending the conflict with the colonies and the slave trade at the same time, Sharp became involved with some of the same English Quakers who had helped to fund Smeathman's journey.<sup>123</sup> Sharp first came into contact with Smeathman thanks to these men in 1783, just as the American Revolution was coming to an end.

Having taken the temperature of the London business community, Smeathman had come up with a new plan that would incorporate his desired termite plantation with the problem that he saw on the streets of London of the "black poor". He first started to voice the idea in letters to anyone who might be interested in funding such an initiative.<sup>124</sup> To this end, he met with Quaker leaders in 1783. While the Quakers did not trust Smeathman or approve of his plan, Granville Sharp, who was in attendance, saw the glimmer of an idea to solve his own problems. To stop the steady flow of the "black poor" to his door, he would both help Smeathman find funding and come up with his own alternate plan.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Patricia Bradley, *Slavery Propaganda and the American Revolution*; Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 105-153.

<sup>122</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

<sup>123</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital*, 162-175.

<sup>124</sup> Franklin Thornton, "To Benjamin Franklin from John Coakley Lettsom, 2 August 1783," found in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 40, *May 16 through September 15, 1783*, ed. Ellen R. Coh (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011) 426-427; "Franklin's Journal, [26 June 1784-27 July 1784]," *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 42, *March 1 through August 15, 1784*, ed. Ellen R. Cohn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017, 361-379).

<sup>125</sup> Kate Hodgson, "'Dedicated to the Sound Politicians of all the Trading Nations of Europe': Sierra Leone and the European Colonial Imagination" in Paul E. Lovejoy, and Suzanne Schwarz. *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2015) 144-146.

In 1786, Smeathman's mission to enlist commercial support for his termite endeavor led to the first published plan to resettle descendants of the African Diaspora on the West African Coast.<sup>126</sup> Smeathman's plan pledged to transport the "troublesome Blacks back to Africa," which would "remove the burthen of the Blacks from the public forever."<sup>127</sup> He built on his first-hand experience as well as experiences of others, as well as the semi-fictional Africa presented by European mapmakers, to weave a convincing story of a locale with superior soil and climate perfect for supporting the highly sought after crops of sugar, indigo, and cotton. Smeathman stated that these crops grew naturally in this particular region of West Africa, unlike in the Caribbean. Smeathman maintained that the native population merely neglected the potential by exhausting their strength "upon silly and trivial exertions."<sup>128</sup> If shown the proper way to cultivate, by a group of black "free" laborers overseen by white managers, they would soon be able to provide a profitable return that would not involve the expensive process of importing their number to the Americas. The "laziness" that supposedly resulted from their customs would be fixed through "good government and education."<sup>129</sup> He assured his readers that within thirty years, the settlement would produce an economically and politically sound space for freedom "wider than even the American Independence."<sup>130</sup> Unlike later plans, Smeathman suggested that it could even become a worthy investment to purchase slaves to be given their freedom, once in Sierra Leone.

While Quakers distrusted his veracity and purpose, his timing was impeccable. The winter of 1785-86 had been an especially hard one. The "black poor" littered the streets of

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<sup>126</sup> Henry Smeathman, *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona, on the Grain Coast of Africa*, 1786 (New York Public Library Digital Collections). Accessed April 15, 2020.

<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c1a1b670-ff74-0133-e127-00505686a51c>

<sup>127</sup> Henry Smeathman, *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona*, 4,5.

<sup>128</sup> Henry Smeathman, *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona*, 13.

<sup>129</sup> Henry Smeathman, *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona*, 4.

<sup>130</sup> Henry Smeathman, *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona*, 4,5.

London and beyond. A Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor was created that same summer after, as one member put it, seeing the "tattered bundles of human misery, huddled in doorways, shoeless, sometimes shirtless even in the bitter cold or else covered with filthy rags."<sup>131</sup> The committee managed to raise £800, but that would only help for a short time. As Smeathman's plan laid a solution before the public, his pamphlet was published in a second edition by the end of the year.<sup>132</sup>

Granville Sharp worked on an alternate plan following meeting Smeathman in 1783. Sharp's plan for "A Province of Freedom" incorporated many of the same thoughts on land cultivation but went a step further. He proposed that instead of having private property, a day's labor would be the capital on which all transactions would be based in the colony. With this system, each colonist would be considered a debtor paying for his services with public works. He believed the colony could become an idealized version of the ancient English ideas about government. He worked out a system of voting where every ten adult males would pick a representative that would vote for measures by their wishes and needs. He thought that by this system, the community would be able to organize and defend themselves without a military or police force. Twelve plots were to be held back for "men of science and abilities." Sharp's utopian plan did not stop there. He made clear with his opening this was not to be considered an English endeavor, but "consisting of People from various Nations" and "complexions...who disdaining national prejudices ...agreed to unite in BROTHERLY LOVE and to promote and maintain the just Rights of Humanity, to which, as MEN, ALL are equally entitled."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Joseph Kaifala, *Free Slaves, Freetown, and the Sierra Leonean Civil War* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) 59.

<sup>132</sup> Deirdre Coleman, *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009) 79.

<sup>133</sup> Granville Sharp, *A Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed): For the Intended Settlement of the Grain Coast of Africa, near Sierra Leone* (London: Edwin, Fleet Street, 1786) 2,4. Accessed at <https://archive.org/details/shortsketchoftem00shar/page/n4/mode/2up>.

While abolitionists applauded Sharp's plan and stepped clear of Smeathman's, the business and government leaders interested in the attempt were attracted to the latter. The separate intents would likely have doomed both plans for lack of support except that fate stepped in. In July of 1786, Henry Smeathman died of an ailment thought to be malaria. When the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor met the following week, they quietly melded the two plans together. Instead of this cutting short the plans, it allowed for a joining of the two into one, with both plans published for the selective audience willing to listen. Granville Sharp was given a leadership role in the organization, but funds were to be overseen by the government-approved Captain Joseph Irwin. Considering that the organization's meager funding was exponentiated by the British government's provision of £40,000 for the project, Irwin's position was, if anything, just as crucial to the overall project. Nevertheless, Sharp did not waiver in support of the colony during its infancy.

The Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor published a broadside looking for support from the public with a list of those "black poor" willing to go "back to Africa." The enlistment of the "black poor" reached across England, with tales of generosity and exceptional wealth put forth to secure the trip. An abridged version of Sharp's plan is presented in each press release with his original reference to "Brotherly Love" included, but nothing about the throwing away of national interest or the international scope that he had desired.<sup>134</sup> By the next summer, with the government's payment and the increasing publicity, the first colonial establishment was secured with the number of colonists in the first installment reported as 704 men and 204 women. Granville Sharp wrote to his brother that "they have purchased twenty miles square of

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<sup>134</sup> *The Times* (London, Greater London, England) Dec 18, 1786, Page 3; *The Derby Mercury* (Derby, Derbyshire, England) Dec 14, 1786, Page 2; *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Advertiser* (Leeds, West Yorkshire, England) Nov 28, 1786, Page 2; *The Bath Chronicle* (Bath, Avon, England) Nov 23, 1786 Page 2; *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear, England) Saturday, December 23, 1786 - Page 4.

the finest and most beautiful country... that was ever seen... fine streams of fresh water run down the hill on each side of the new township; and in the front is a noble bay."<sup>135</sup> The English understood the purchase from King Tom of the local Koya Temne as “forever,” but as they were to find out, such a concept of land ownership did not exist in West African cultures.<sup>136</sup>

### 2.2.3 White Money – The Americans

Sharp enthusiastically touted the internationalist vision for his new colony in correspondence with Americans interested in adding to the colony. His contacts with Anthony Benezit in Philadelphia allowed for him to seek out more support among the Quakers in America. Sharp sent copies of his plan directly to the Friends, who distributed and talked of them with several other groups. Two of these, one in Maryland and one in Rhode Island, responded by requesting more information from Sharp, but neither would go very far for lack of funds and the tepid response within their memberships.<sup>137</sup>

The response from the heart of the slavocracy was limited to a few articles in newspapers, but Virginians had been talking of finding a release valve for the excess number of Free People of Color living within their borders. A well-known Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, proposed, as chairman of a committee in the new Virginia legislature, that a settlement for free Blacks should be established in the “vacant lands” beyond the western borders of the thirteen colonies.<sup>138</sup>

Jefferson and his counterparts had heard fantastic stories of the riches of the Sierra Leone river

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<sup>135</sup> Joseph Kaifala, *Free Slaves, Freetown, and the Sierra Leonean Civil War* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) 64.

<sup>136</sup> The location was not in use as it had previously been the site of a French slave market, Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) 163.

<sup>137</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 417-429.

<sup>138</sup> David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2003)110-116.



valley for years, but yet had no interest in the plans.<sup>139</sup> The lack of Virginian support for the actual first colony in 1787 likely came more from the wording of Granville Sharp's proposal than an absence of interest. As Jefferson stated, he could not envision a bi-racial society. Cornwallis' threat to unleash the Blacks on their masters was one of the horrors of the American Revolution in Jefferson's view; he lamented, "History will never relate the horrors committed by the British army in the Southern states of America."<sup>140</sup> A man who fathered children by his own slave could not see past the difference between those with black skin and those without. It would take twenty years and a slave uprising before Virginians would speak of recolonizing slaves to Africa.<sup>141</sup>

One immigrant from England to Virginia did set out to embrace Sharp's dream, and to make it his own. Dr. William Thornton was born on a Caribbean plantation on the island of Tortola and inherited his father's slaves as a child. Thornton, like Jefferson, was a dilettante who viewed himself as an enlightened man who would solve the problems of the day with reason and logic. His position and interest made it easy for him to reach out to Granville Sharp through mutual friends. Thornton wished to create a separate colony on the southern coast of West Africa, in present-day Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>142</sup> Looking for a way to make his mark on the world, the idea of giving his slaves freedom along with land that he imagined was there for the taking

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<sup>139</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 25, 1772; *Virginia Gazette* (PD), July 16, 1772, Aug. 27, 1772.

<sup>140</sup> "From Thomas Jefferson to William Gordon, 16 July 1788," *Founders Online*, USA National Archives, last modified June 13, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0266>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 13, *March–7 October 1788*, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, pp. 362–365.]

<sup>141</sup> Cohen, William. "Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Slavery." *The Journal of American History* 56, no. 3 (1969): 503-26.

<sup>142</sup> Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921) 41.

promised to fulfill his desires. In his effort to make the plan work he wrote friends of having enlisted Free People of Color in Rhode Island and Boston into the plan.<sup>143</sup>

Thornton's plan was reminiscent of the abolitionist colony. He created a small version of the one set up by Granville Sharp, but his real excitement was reserved for the possibilities of farming. His readings made him believe that without rivers or minerals, colonists would have less to hamper their attempts to grow cash crops. Sugar cane already grew wild in the area. He believed gums and other products to use in medicines and industry could be harvested from trees, and ivory taken from the elephants. He had an elaborate explanation for why it was a perfect area to grow cotton and indigo, as well as spices and drugs. He did not reach out for funding, as he seemed to think that would not be a problem between his investment and those of his white friends from Boston and Rhode Island who wished to "help" move the Blacks from their back door. The reason Thornton reached out was to use the new settlement in Sierra Leone as a connection point and training ground for the new inhabitants of his imagined colony.<sup>144</sup> When Sharp's abolitionist colony quickly folded, Thornton moved on to a new interest in architecture, using the connections he made through the effort at colonizing to befriend George Washington and become the architect who oversaw the building of the U.S. Capitol with slave labor.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Dr William Thornton to J. Doty, July 1788 in Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921) 40-42.

<sup>144</sup> Dr William Thornton to J. Doty, 1787 in Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921) 44-45.

<sup>145</sup> Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921) 41.

### 2.3.1 Black Skin – London

In December of 1786, news spread in London that the first shipment of colonists was in trouble. One piece anonymously sent to *The London Public Advertiser* locked onto the fact that some of the intended colonists had talked to a famed rabble-rouser of the time, Lord George Gordon. Gordon was known for the 1780 riots that now bear his name. The reason given for Gordon's riots was the repeal of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and a return to the repression of Catholics, but the actual reason was economic. British cities were overcrowded and unsanitary. As happens with minorities competing for shrinking resources, the poor saw the Catholics as taking what was theirs adding to their growing frustration with higher taxes, government corruption, and impressments into the army and navy. Some black colonists may have taken part in these riots, but more importantly, they could be sure that Gordon sympathized with those less fortunate. The paper even printed Gordon's reasons for why they should not go – various miseries, rebellions, but most of all “the final loss of liberty, which had uniformly attended the settlement of foreign colonies by the different nations of the earth, who had not yet themselves incorporates the law of God into their establishments.”<sup>146</sup>

The paper ultimately blamed the words of the infamous agitator for the 400 recruits who left the ship and thus the expedition. It went on to speak with a sad note of the foolishness of the Blacks in turning down a well-equipped voyage that supposedly had everything they could want, provided for them by white benevolent “engineers, surveyors, schoolmaster, and surgeons.”<sup>147</sup> It finished by noting the resulting aggravation of the cost, supposedly borne by the government, and with a fearful and familiar refrain of the ruling power feeling forced to deal with an unruly

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<sup>146</sup> *The Public Advertiser* (London, Greater London, England) · Mon, Dec 18, 1786 · Page 4

<sup>147</sup> *The Public Advertiser* (London, Greater London, England) · Dec 18, 1786, Page 4.

minority: “It seems there is no law to compel them to embark, or to detain them aboard, to be transported to a military government, like the white felons.”<sup>148</sup>

Lord Gordon shows up in a misunderstood political cartoon from the era about the colonists (Figure 5). The Prince Regent and his followers are depicted as the Poor Blacks of London. The Prince is seen in a Native American headdress in a debtor’s prison. The cartoon is referencing the move in Parliament to take care of the Prince’s debts. The other figures represent Lord North and others who supported this measure, who are also being brought to the settlement or poor house. Lord George Gordon is the only white figure in the cartoon and is there to instruct the knowing audience about the irony of a Parliament that would take care of the Prince’s debts but could not help the poor. He was, in actuality, their lawyer, trying to get the government to allow the Poor Blacks the option to stay rather than being treated as debtors and sent off to a settlement. The English viewed the colony in line with the Australian and Botany Bay penal colonies. Its function was to relieve them of the expense of feeding and housing the “black poor.”<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> *The Public Advertiser* (London, Greater London, England) · Dec 18, 1786, Page 4.

<sup>149</sup> *The Poor Blacks going to their Settlement*, The British Museum, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1634426&page=2&partId=1&people=18351-2-70&people=18351](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1634426&page=2&partId=1&people=18351-2-70&people=18351)



Figure 8 - Detail from *The Poor Blacks Going to Their Settlement*. England, 1787. [London: Pubd. as the Act directs, for the Proprietor, by E. Macklew] <https://www.loc.gov/item/95503382/>.

Philadelphia newspaper coverage seemed most interested by a supposed “decoy black” hired to entice other Blacks to go to Sierra Leone “at the extravagant price of £1081 a year.”<sup>150</sup> If the piece is to be believed at all, and to add to the suspicious nature of the trip, this black individual was to return to London at the end of four months if he did not choose to stay in Sierra Leone.

This ill coloured transaction has got wind the unsuspecting Ethiopians; and it occasions a sort of embargo, at present, on the sailing of the black fleet. Besides the murmur which this unsavory negociation raises among the Blacks themselves, their white friends begin to threaten Irvine, and the committee with the law of man stealing, or kidnapping. These poor people communicated some strange anecdotes of their lawyer and counsellor, respecting the arts used to convert and prevail on black leaders to adopt, patronize, and even preach up the colonial system of the Pettites to possess the land of Ethiopia.<sup>151</sup>

The sheer volume and veracity of these and other reports highlight the fear of the failure of the attempt to clear the streets of the Poor Blacks. The reasons given for the predicted failure of the mission varied. Whether it was that they were actually being sent to a penal colony or were being taken away to be abandoned to slave traders on the coast depended on the newspaper publishing the story. With either answer the failure of the Province of Freedom was tied undeniably to the failure of the abolitionist cause. The black skinned individual was seen as a child who was being led astray from their destined, subservient place as confirmed by all religious and scientific evidence. The fact that the “black poor” were not leaving because they themselves refused is lost in this tale, and instead replaced with the treacherous abolitionist and “decoy black.”

The supposed “decoy black” might actually be a reference to Olaudah Equiano. Known for his impact on abolition through the later publication of his autobiography, Equiano had an important part to play in the story of the Province of Freedom. Equiano’s part in recolonization has been ignored, discredited, or misunderstood by the existing scholarship. Sharp undoubtedly

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<sup>150</sup> *The Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, PA) March 09, 1787

<sup>151</sup> *The independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, PA) March 09, 1787 section heading London: December 21.

orchestrated the choice of Equiano as “Commissary of Provisions and Stores for the Black Poor to Sierra Leone.” The two men became familiar following an unsolicited report Equiano sent Sharp in 1781 that launched the infamous case of the slave ship *Zong*, in which the captain had tossed 132 enchained slaves overboard to their death to claim insurance for lost cargo. Sharp attempted on the strength of that report to convict the captain and crew for murder, but to no avail.<sup>152</sup>

Equiano took his job to protect his fellow Blacks seriously. The committee had hoped he would help to promote the trip among the “black poor” with name recognition, but almost as soon as he came aboard, he started filing reports of mismanagement.<sup>153</sup> Politically savvy, Equiano carefully pointed the finger at Captain Irwin without ever directly blaming him. The officials treated Equiano as they would any disgruntled bureaucrat – they documented his complaints and ignored him. Under pressure from Irwin, he was finally fired and given the rest of the compensation due him in hopes that he would let the matter go. Instead, he began to speak out as a voice of protest among the colonists, publicly denouncing the abuses as alarming evidence of the treacherous nature of the British government when it came to actually acting on behalf of the “black poor.”<sup>154</sup> Having provided Equiano with a government position, they could not take back the leadership role that he had assumed within the community. Whether conscious of it or not, Equiano had made the decision to be Afro-British in his concerns, instead of making a new home in Africa, the continent of his birth. He would go on to be an outspoken voice

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<sup>152</sup> Samuel Hoare Memoirs 236, 241-244 Friends Library of London.

<sup>153</sup> Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994) 135 – 149.

<sup>154</sup> Equiano Protests, T 1/643, no. 681, f. 87, UK National Archives.



against the West Indian lobby's moves and the author of the first of its kind Manchester mass anti-slavery petition in Parliament, before writing his famous life narrative in 1789.<sup>155</sup>

After the problems with disastrous press, Equiano's removal, and the escape of many of the colonists, the committee was ordered by the government to round up any Blacks still found begging in the streets. They even threatened that if the "black poor" did not go, they would not be given any more aid.<sup>156</sup> Granville Sharp agreed and voiced the same, knowing that he had sunk the bulk of his fortune, £1700, into the venture.<sup>157</sup> To prevent any more of the intended colonists from disembarking, the three ships that were to take them to West Africa launched from port, only to sit in the middle of the Thames River for months, enduring miserable conditions. Another black leader, Ottobah Cugoano, wrote that "many perished with cold and other disorders" before even leaving central England.<sup>158</sup>

### 2.3.2 Black Skin – United States

The push and pull of emigration to Africa began for African Americans even in this era. In several instances, African Americans attempted to find a way to go to the continent they had in common. In the months following the decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somersett case, four Massachusetts slaves, allowed to speak for themselves because of their ill-treatment by their master, asked the colonial assembly to allow them to "transport ourselves to some part of the

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<sup>155</sup> Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006) 168.

<sup>156</sup> "The Choice of Sierra Leone," T 1/634, no. 1903, f. 86, UK National Archives.

<sup>157</sup> Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 315.

<sup>158</sup> Thomas Clarkson, Ottobah Cugoano, and Mary-Antoinette Smith, *Essays on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2010) 319.



coast of Africa.”<sup>159</sup> In answer to Sharp’s plan for a Province of Freedom, another group in Boston likewise petitioned for assistance “returning to Africa our native country.”<sup>160</sup>

However, like their counterparts in London and future groups, they found that white-led initiatives were problematic. The black populations of Rhode Island and Boston that had initially been involved in Dr. William Thornton’s plan, even before the Province of Freedom faltered, highlighted what would become the biggest stumbling block to his recolonization schemes. Of the more than 2,000 would-colonists, seventy were members of a “Union Society” in Newport.<sup>161</sup> They forced Thornton to change his plan by demanding the right to carry arms with them. They, along with others from Boston, eventually refused to take part in Thornton’s recolonization project altogether. For the Black Americans subjected to slavery by the English system of government, no plan was viable that did not end with self-government. If they were to invest their lives in this new venture, they wanted it to be a separate nation. They did not wish to be part of a white-run country. They wished to be able to trade independently with the various European nations and the new United States as fit their economic needs.<sup>162</sup>

#### 2.4.1 Results

Like each succeeding recolonization attempt, the Province of Freedom was a failure. By the time the ships left England on April 9, 1787, only 309 men and 100 women were left. Thirty-

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<sup>159</sup> Nicholas Guyatt *Bind Us Apart*, 210-211.

<sup>160</sup> Nicholas Guyatt *Bind Us Apart*, 259-62.

<sup>161</sup> Brooks, George E. "The Providence African Society's Sierra Leone Emigration Scheme, 1794-1795: Prologue to the African Colonization Movement." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, no. 2 (1974): 183-202. Accessed April 16, 2018. doi:10.2307/217128.

<sup>162</sup> Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921) 41, 43.

five would die en route, before reaching their new home of Granville Town.<sup>163</sup> An imperturbable man, Sharp blamed the deaths on the amount of rum consumed on the voyage by the colonists. Sharp's condemnation stemmed from his lack of knowledge of life outside the confines of England. Water was unavailable on the high seas, making rum the necessary drink. Also, the white men who were sent to help lead the Blacks in creating a colony would eventually show themselves to be alcoholics, a condition that might have started before landing in Africa. More likely, the three months confined to ships in the Thames river, with supplies siphoned off by the captain, left them weak and vulnerable to disease. Reaching Sierra Leone in the middle of a six-month rainy season did not help either, as they continued to die, but now Sharp felt that he could say that the idea itself had not been a bad one, merely the colonists had failed. As they tried to eke out an existence living under old ship sails given to them by the navy before the ships left, their rations slowly became exhausted, leading to malnutrition and death for an additional 122 within the first four months.<sup>164</sup>

Nevertheless, the village continued for three years with the occasional help of the Temne, Mende, and Sherbro, three of the dozen diverse ethnic groups that occupied land in what would eventually become the English colony, and present-day country, of Sierra Leone. The British government had failed to make any sort of lasting alliance with the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, and in this at least the fault lies probably with Sharp's desires for an international community. The indigenous groups were familiar with the English as slave traders and Christian missionaries, but the Poor Blacks of London came with nothing to offer them in return. And, as

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<sup>163</sup> Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 112.

<sup>164</sup> Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994) 201.

one of the white scientists who had gone as part of the group wrote Sharp, “there is not a thing, which is put into the ground, will grow more than a foot out of it.”<sup>165</sup> Smeathman’s promise of ease in growing cash crops was quickly proving to be false.

The one constant trade in the region was slavery. Several of the colonists would be taken as slaves after stealing food. Others joined the slave trading post as employees to survive.<sup>166</sup>

When informed of this fact, Sharp lost all confidence in the abilities of the colonists:

I could not have conceived that men who were well aware of the wickedness of slave dealing, and had themselves been suffers (or at least many of them) under the galling yoke of bondage to slave-holders... should become so basely depraved as to yield themselves instruments to promote, and extend, the same detestable oppression over their brethren.<sup>167</sup>

Still faced with the “black poor” of London showing up on his doorstep daily for help, he refused to give up on the idea of recolonization. He just needed to reorganize. Writing off those who had already left, Sharp, by 1789, asked his abolitionist friends to make a joint-stock company under the name of St George’s Bay. He advertised in newspapers from London to Edinburgh, but with very little response.<sup>168</sup> The English public was occupied with the first influx of French nobles escaping the dawning French Revolution and Wilberforce’s failed attempt to pass a resolution to end the slave trade.<sup>169</sup> With a hundred of the most stalwart supporters of “black poor” relief

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<sup>165</sup> Elliot to Mr. Granville Sharp, Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 320-321.

<sup>166</sup> *The Times* (London, Greater London, England) 30 Nov 1790, Page 3.

<sup>167</sup> “To the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, in the Mountains of Sierra Leone” in Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 329.

<sup>168</sup> Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>169</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 417-429.

investing £1347, the organization could not even pay for much-needed provisions for the existing colonists.<sup>170</sup>

Sharp's problems compounded as news of the wreck that was the *Provence of Freedom* reached England. Starving, with unanswered letters to their benefactor, the colonists began to gain sustenance in any way they could. While the news of these happenings was not widespread, when five of the colonists stole from the slave-trading fort at Bance Island just across the river, the fallout was published in newspapers throughout the English-speaking world. The interest arose from the court trials that came out of the simple theft. The traders assembled an ad hoc jury made up of their friends and sold the five men into slavery, putting them on a French ship that would be one of the last to re-provision the slave population in St Domingue before the revolt there. While the five men were gone, the English courts revisited the case. In the end, it would be dropped, based on an inability to locate the five men. By 1790, Sharp was desperately trying to extricate himself from the colony. Late that year a local village was burned by a slave-trading ship. The villagers retaliated by burning down Granville Town. While word usually reached Sharp within three months from the colony, this time, mysteriously, it would be over a year before he would report to the new investors, the Sierra Leone Company, the total annihilation of the colony. In the end, only sixty of the original colonists survived, all having joined local groups or the slave trade.<sup>171</sup>

The colony had been intended to offer support and profit for British business and trade through further exploration and resource gathering in Africa itself. With the great promise of a

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<sup>170</sup> Granville Sharp and Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq: Composed from His Own Manuscripts, and Other Authentic Documents in the Possession of His Family and of the African Institution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>171</sup> Starr Douglass, "the Making of scientific knowledge in an age of slavery: Henry Smeathman, Sierra Leone and Natural History" in *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, vol 9, no 3 (Winter 2008) John Hopkins Press.

portage on the West Coast of Africa to help with supply lines in the exploration of the interior, Joseph Banks spearheaded the founding of a new organization in 1788 to explore and map the interior, the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. Contracting to be the buyer for any of the cash crops that would fail to materialize from Sierra Leone, Joseph Banks kept a watchful eye on the abolitionist colony. Banks would keep even closer tabs on Sierra Leone in the coming decade.<sup>172</sup> While Frank T. Kryza in *The Race for Timbuktu* cites Banks' position as an investor in the Sierra Leone Company and agreement to buy the first products of the envisioned colony as proof of his support of abolition, his correspondence with Henry Smeathman and his constant involvement with slave traders instead suggest that his involvement was based on the possibility of expansion of trade and scientific discovery.<sup>173</sup>

The most significant result of the short-lived Province of Freedom is the part it played in the flourishing of abolition. Not long after the announcement of the formation of the Province of Freedom, a new organization would begin to meet that would lay the foundation for long-lasting change, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade.<sup>174</sup> Meeting without fanfare for eight months, the influential men who were a part of this group, including Sharp, publicly announced their meeting and their goal of ending the slave trade only after the colonists were finally out of the harbor and on their way to Africa. The organization included the news of the ship's departure in the announcement that was reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic, even going

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<sup>172</sup> Symonds to Banks (ca 1791): further information on Sierra Leone and Houghton, 199; A. Afzelius to Banks, 28 October 1793; a second journey to Africa, 200-201; Sierra Leone Co. to Banks, 17 June 1793, 202-204; List of directors of Sierra Leone Co. 205-223 UK National Archives; A postscript from Thornton on *Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Co.*, 19 October 1791; Extract from *Gazetteer*, 11 February 1792, 225-226.

<sup>173</sup> Frank T. Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu: In Search of Africa's City of Gold*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007) 13.

<sup>174</sup> Asiegbu, Johnson U. J. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787-1861*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1969; Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 417-429.

as far as to say that “the poor Blacks behaved very well.”<sup>175</sup> Even with the disastrous start to the colony, the public continued to see it as a viable answer to the problems of the empire in the late 1780s. It offered a perceived release from bi-racial mixing in the wake of the continual influx of Blacks. By its very existence, the colony offered the English an avenue to avoid a bi-racial society while also supporting the abolition of the slave trade and slavery at home in England. In what would become the recurring theme, every move made forward in the abolition movement required the promise of a way to survive economically without a bi-racial society.

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<sup>175</sup> *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear, England) 20 Jul 1787, Page 4; *The Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 20 Sep 1787, Page 3; *The Derby Mercury* (Derby, Derbyshire, England) 20 Sep 1787, Page 2.

Chapter 3  
SIERRA LEONE COMPANY  
1791 - 1807

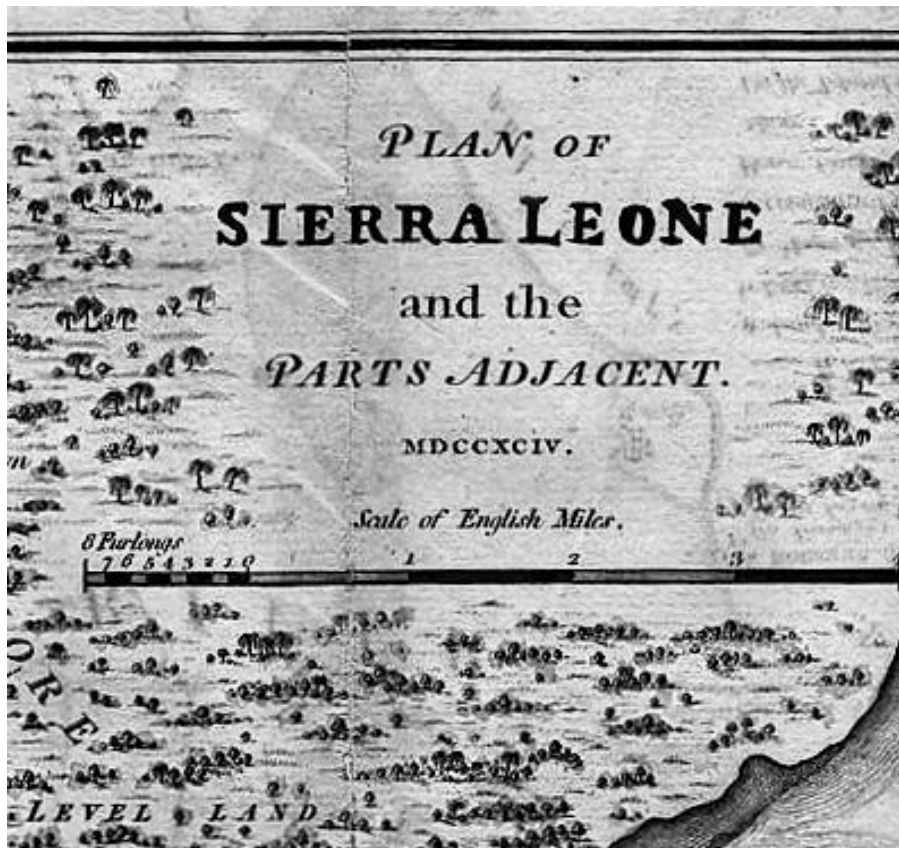


Figure 9- Cartouche from "Plan of Sierra Leone," drawn by James Phillips found in *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: the Sierra Leone Company, 1794) Front Plate. Digital Image, King's College – London Foyle's Special Collection, DT516 SIE (Accessed May 28, 2018).

During the last week of October 1791, news of a revolt in France's colony Saint-Domingue hit London. The slaves of the island had gone into revolt starting August 22, but the information of the much-feared large-scale revolt took two months to reach London. The report, written by officials on the English slave colony of Jamaica, crossed the Atlantic aboard slow sailing ships on the last leg of the atlantic slave triangle.<sup>176</sup> The revolt was the opening salvo in the birth of the nation of Haiti. On the last day of the next month, the then six-month-old Sierra Leone Company held an emergency meeting to add £50,000 to the existing £100,000 in capital investment of the reorganized company.<sup>177</sup> The news of the revolt reassured the investors that the new colony, with correct management, could yield them profits in the sugar industry vacuum created by the revolt. That the government insured this last infusion only spoke to the popular appeal of recolonization. For the investors, like many other Englishmen, the revolt offered another example of the necessity of ending slavery before it destroyed the national economy. At the same time, many of them also agreed with the West Indies slave lobby that stricter control of British slave populations was now a necessity. However, none of these were the reason for their calling this meeting. The revolt improved their chances of making the colony viable enough to give them a return on their investment. After all, these titans of international trade and finance believed that the descent of the French colony into chaos would actually improve their own venture's chances for success.

The different tenor of the Sierra Leone Company in comparison to the previous Province of Freedom was no accident. As the great abolitionist utopian idea had fallen in on itself, the next investors in recolonizing Blacks to West Africa were business and political leaders who created great wealth by looking discernibly at what was best for the empire and their own futures. They

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<sup>176</sup> *Oxford Journal*, Oct 29, 1791; Saturday Edition; *London Advertiser* Oct 28, 1791, Friday Edition.

<sup>177</sup> *Sheffield Register, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, & Nottinghamshire Universal Advertiser*, Dec 09, 1791 Friday Edition.



had come together because the labor problems caused by the continued refusal of the majority of Blacks in England to resettle in West Africa had been solved, they believed, by new events.<sup>178</sup> Thomas Clarkson and his brother successfully sold the colony to 1,200 of the black Loyalists who had sided with the British in the American Revolution. Originally offloaded in a hostile Nova Scotia, they jumped at the chance to resettle in West Africa. They landed on an empty crest of land already labeled “Freetown” on maps in 1792. In the following years, they struggled both with Company officials and with an unfamiliar land and climate.<sup>179</sup> Even though the colony endured this time, reaching a population of about 2,000 by 1807, the hoped-for profits failed to materialize, and the centrist line between slave profiteers and anti-slavery movers proved untenable – no matter how vigorous the campaign.<sup>180</sup>

This chapter will look at the Atlantic-wide efforts to resurrect the idea of recolonization following the previous attempt by the strict abolitionists. Like every other organization studied here, the economic concerns and the resulting propaganda campaign of the Sierra Leone Company show that the move to recolonize was neither strictly pro-slavery nor anti-slavery in motivation, but a centrist approach that accepted that slavery must end but perceived a need for an economical solution to the transition of Blacks from property to independent labor. The need to ignore the parts of their imagined community that did not fit their desires for Africa also solidified and began the long tradition of blaming the shortcomings brought by the historical and spatial geography of West Africa on the “black poor” whom the Sierra Leone Company

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<sup>178</sup> Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers, Black Migrants Across Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, La: LSU Press, 2008).

<sup>179</sup> Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown Black Loyalists after the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999); Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007); Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).

<sup>180</sup> Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2007).

purported to help. The Black free community of England, on the other hand, spoke clearly of its stance against being segregated to another continent.

### 3.1.1 Historiography

This chapter covers the aspect of the creation of Sierra Leone that dominates all narratives about the founding of the colony: From the first history written by Thomas Clarkson, designed to shape his legacy as well as his investments, histories of the colony took on the mantle of morality and claimed it as a part of the movement for the abolition of the slave trade—one of Britain’s most lauded moments.<sup>181</sup> The ultimate political success is portrayed by the imitation of the settlement of Freetown within the (albeit separate) stories of the American settlement in Liberia, the French settlement of Libreville, Gabon, and a Kenyan settlement called Freetown.<sup>182</sup> Western Scholarship followed Clarkson’s lead, with only a few reiterations, until the bicentennial of the colony’s founding in 1987 started a new flurry of micro-histories that complicated the view of British moral superiority.<sup>183</sup> This chapter builds on extensive new research into the identities of over seventeen hundred investors in the colony, as well as those subsumed into the enterprise after Sharp’s plans failed. As in other chapters of this work, the dilemma lays in understanding the importance of the fear of economic failure rather than

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<sup>181</sup> Thomas Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament (Nouv. Ed.) / by Thomas Clarkson; a New Ed. with Prefatory Remarks on the Subsequent Abolition of Slavery* (London: J. W. Parker, 1839). <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k618804>.

<sup>182</sup> Rosalind Shaw, *Memories of the Slave Trade: Ritual and the Historical Imagination in Sierra Leone* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>183</sup> Ellen G Wilson, *John Clarkson and the African Adventure* (New York: Macmillan Limited, 1980); Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994); Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005); Cassandra Prybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006); Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants Across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2010); Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

concentrating on the philanthropic nature of the abolitionist movement in Britain or the misguided attempt to spread Christianity and civilization to Africa and simultaneously end slavery.<sup>184</sup> As with other attempts at colony building, the conventional narrative starts with the British government, in the form of William Wilberforce and William Pitt, forcing anti-slavery on the empire. Instead, this chapter demonstrates how government officials were responding to the activity of the colonists, and abolition was an unintended by-product for most involved in the project. Having a commercial enterprise that served to separate the races and expand Britain's international reach, while making officials feel that they were doing their part to stop the horrible stories of slavery that proliferated during the period, made Sierra Leone too tempting to ignore. The problem with the first colony, as they saw it, had been labor.

The new British Empire that Pitt and his cohorts formed bent to the necessity of having a mix of people within its borders, but sought to not involve them in the running of government. Noted historian J. H. Elliot says that Britain in 1801 thought "the future was to lie...with a global and centrally managed empire, albeit an empire in which representative assemblies, as in Canada, were allowed their due place."<sup>185</sup> The new empire was to be worldwide. Representative bodies were allowed to decide small matters but not speak with a unified voice. Historian Maya Jasanoff states that the problems of the eighteenth century "catalyzed the development of a British imperial state anchored on monarchial patriotism at home, authoritarian rule abroad, and an inclusive governing approach to multiethnic subjects."<sup>186</sup> The monarchy existed as a figurehead to add to national pride in England, with the rest of the empire ruled from this central

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<sup>184</sup> Seymour Drescher, *Pathways from Slavery: British and Colonial Mobilizations in Global Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>185</sup> J. H. Elliott, Spain, *Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2009) 216.

<sup>186</sup> Maya Jasanoff "Revolutionary Exiles: The American Loyalist and French Emigre Diasporas" in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760-1840* edited by David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) 53.

force. Different groups taken into the empire were not expected to give up their beliefs, but the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group oversaw all governmental affairs. The lesson of the founding of Freetown is that this approach resulted from the pressure of public mobilization and economic forces.

### 3.2.1 White Money

With the embarrassment of the destruction of his colony finally being reported in the newspapers, Sharp essentially gave up on the dream. As the tropical foliage encroached on the remains of Granville Town, Sharp sought to save his investment by having Parliament incorporate his next venture under the name of St George's Bay. He payed for a shipment to completely outfit a new colony and waited. The eventual tally came to £1,700, and he turned over the direction of the Province of Freedom to Henry Thornton. Thornton immediately started to restructure the organization in a way that reflected his business acumen more than his Quaker faith. Since Sharp had already applied to Parliament for the charter under St George's Bay Colony, he merely changed the masthead to Sierra Leone Company, allowing for the approval process to continue and the moral rectitude of the original plan to give cover to the capital-making venture. While Thornton used the reputation of the mission in his renewed application for the charter, he made it clear that the goal of the stockholders was "Carrying on



Figure 10 Henry Thornton holding a document with the headline John Hopper, *Sierra Leone* (London, 1802). [https://archive.org/stream/johnhoppnerra00mcka/johnhoppnerra00mcka\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/johnhoppnerra00mcka/johnhoppnerra00mcka_djvu.txt)

trade between Great Britain and...Africa.”<sup>187</sup> By selling the idea to parliament and investors that the colony was not merely ridding England of the Black Poor, but also establishing a port for the empire in Africa, Thornton essentially threw out all of the utopian ideals that Sharp had added to Smeathman’s plan five years earlier.

Thornton’s campaign to raise funds stands as the most successful of any attempts to recolonize West Africa. Instead of the open calls in newspapers near and far, as during Sharp’s era, Thornton restricted membership. Instead of newspaper reports, the new company published reports in the form of pamphlets. While newspapers were printed widely throughout the country, pamphlets were the backbone of the business community, with competing publishers even printing lists of the most intriguing findings of other pamphlets.<sup>188</sup> Anyone wishing to invest in new ventures needed to keep abreast of the latest news these pamphlets provided to avoid embarrassment and ruin. For the year 1791 *The Monthly Review* listed pamphlets that mentioned Sierra Leone in connection to questions of government, exploration, botany, slavery, and agriculture a total of sixteen times in twelve issues.<sup>189</sup>

The agriculture question, as discussed in the previous chapter, was always in the forefront of every conversation about settling Sierra Leone. The British believed that the lack of European-style cultivation of the land meant that the natives were not using the land to its full potential. One of the basic tenets of Anglican Protestantism was a belief that God expects

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<sup>187</sup> Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court, held at London on Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1791* (London: J. Phillips, 1792) 50-55.

<sup>188</sup> Jon Mee, *Print, Publicity, and Popular Radicalism in the 1790s: The Laurel of Liberty* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 167, 191, 230; J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery the Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995).

<sup>189</sup> W. Aitou “Hortus Kewensis: or a catalogue of the Plants Cultivated in the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew.” *The Monthly Review*, ed. Ralph Griffiths, vol 1, 1790, London, 44; “An Appeal to the Members of the University of Oxford” *The Monthly Review*, ed. Ralph Griffiths, vol 1, 1790, London, 106; *The Monthly Review*, ed. Ralph Griffiths, vol 2, 1790, London, 325, 330, 432, 482-488, 547, 591.

everyone to toil and improve the earth in order to gain relief in the afterlife from hell. But once the British were ensconced in these territories, the natives occasionally fought back. In response the English colonists killed rather than subjugated the native populations. The previous British viewpoint started from the view that this was better than the wholesale mixing of races as had happened in Spanish America.<sup>190</sup> Farming absorbed the back-breaking work of those below, but investors cut out the middleman by having the small farmers' startup costs advanced by the company. In this way, the Sierra Leone Company added an extra push towards industrialization.<sup>191</sup>

The importance of sugar came to the forefront of the discussion with the Haitian revolt. A staple throughout the western world for already more than a century, sugar was the product of slavery and the Caribbean. And of the Caribbean colonies producing sugar cane, the lion's share had come from St Domingue. Without being able to predict the length and depth of the revolt, investors did not know if the island could quickly start up production again. And among all the horrid tales of the new settlement in Sierra Leone, the one crop that had seemed to grow even with the supposed laziness of the new colonists was sugarcane. It was after all native to the region, as discussed in pamphlets and newspapers across the English-speaking world.<sup>192</sup> The investors' gamble that Haiti would never recover its share of the market proved correct, but

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<sup>190</sup> Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York, Penguin Books, 2001) 159, 165-167, 188-191; J. H. Elliott, Spain, *Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2009) 156.

<sup>191</sup> Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, at the stone-house, no 41, South Second Street, 1795) 21; Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775-1810* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2002).

<sup>192</sup> Benjamin Rush, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements Upon Slave-Keeping* (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, in Market-Street, 1773) 7-9; *New-York Journal*, Feb 3, 1785; *New York Packet*, Sep 12, 1787; *Time Piece* Aug 9, 1797.

instead of free labor in West Africa, a sugar boom in Louisiana would soon take its place and lift the lower Mississippi to a new level of wealth.<sup>193</sup>

Thornton's networking skills did not stop at the print campaign. Whereas Sharp spent much time courting investment and expansion in the United States, under Thornton's leadership, stockholding was restricted and, therefore, exclusive. Instead, he used his suburban home on the trendy side of London, and the obviously wealthy Quaker church attached to the property, to hold interest meetings. The location listed for meetings misled later historians because of its Quaker affiliation.<sup>194</sup> While occasionally others have realized that some Anglicans were involved, detailed analysis of the complete investors' list reveals a combination of Quakers, Anglicans, Jews, and at least one Presbyterian.<sup>195</sup> The diversity of backgrounds in the Company demonstrates that interpreting recolonization through religious affiliations is limiting. Starting with Thornton's campaign, knowledge of the colony and support for it reached across a wide variety of backgrounds and mediums, the one thing they all seemed to have in common was involvement with the trading system at the core of the British empire.

In a little under twenty months, the struggling project had gone from near death to an exciting if daring investment. The list of investors rose from 100 to 1,845. The company's value

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<sup>193</sup> Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868*. Louisiana pbk. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap, 2005).

<sup>194</sup> Standish Meacham and Henry Thornton, *Henry Thornton of Clapham, 1760-1815* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>195</sup> "Farquharson, James" *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885-1900); "John Hawkins" *England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858*; PROB 11: Will Registers 1808-1810 Piece 1472: Ely, Quire Numbers 1-53 (1808), John Elisha Tupper; PROB 11/1340/102 Description: Will of Samuel Milford, Banker of Exeter, Devon Date: 08 April 1800 Held by: The National Archives, Kew; PROB 11/1387/207 Will of Edward Vaux, Merchant and Insurer of Austin Friars, City of London Date: 21 February 1803 Held by: The National Archives, Kew; Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, *The Monthly Magazine or British Register* (St Paul's Churchyard, London: Richard Phillips, 1801) Vol 11, 287; Robert Montgomery Martin, *The British Colonies: Their History, Extent, Condition and Resources*, (1803?), Accessed May 29, 2018, cdl, americana -Internet Archive - Contributor University of California Libraries p6; See Appendix D for complete listing of investors information.

rose in the same period from £1,350 to £150,000.<sup>196</sup> Previous studies have followed the words of Clarkson in describing all of the members as avid abolitionists. A detailed study of the investor list, as seen in Appendix B and C, however, reveals a clear divide: less than a hundred were previously involved in abolition, whereas the common factor among the rest of the 1,750 investors was their involvement with Atlantic trading and investment. Understanding the difference in investors between the Province of Freedom and the Sierra Leone Company maybe due to a little bookkeeping error. When the Sierra Leone Company published a list of their shareholders in 1794. This list included individual's purchasing less than four shares, yet the Company clearly stated then and before that the instituted a five-share minimum from incorporation. When sifting through the British records to find the occupations of investors, there is a sharp divide in employment between the larger investors and the small contributors, besides just placement on the list. While the principle list included bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, the small donation list is predominantly Anglican and Quaker ministers, and includes nine women. Sharp had gone through several calls for investors under both the heading of the Province of Freedom and St George's Bay. The list of small investors may not have reached the threshold the company wanted, but the thousand-plus names on the list would have added gravitas to Thornton's application after taking over from Sharp.<sup>197</sup> Clarkson had a definite ulterior motive in painting all of these investors as abolitionists, as it exaggerated his role in the

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<sup>196</sup> *The Tradesman 2* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1809) 369; Henry Thornton and F. A. Hayek *An Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain* (London: Routledge, 2017) <http://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4793253>.

<sup>197</sup> *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: the Sierra Leone Company, 1794) 9 Digital Image, King's College – London Foyle's Special Collection, DT516 SIE (Accessed May 28, 2018); With information in Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, : Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce; Also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies Already Formed, or Attempted, in Africa, Including Those of Sierra Leona and Bulama* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794); See Appendix B and C for further information.



ending of the slave trade. Clarkson, as discussed earlier, did serve as an integral part of the abolitionist movement, but was also a shameless self-promoter.<sup>198</sup>

Instead, a detailed look at the investors reveals what was really behind this renewed interest in recolonizing West Africa. While, as might be expected, half of the investors came from London, the list includes people from every county in England except for one: Liverpool, which is telling in itself. Liverpool made its wealth in the Atlantic slave trade. While listings of petitioners for abolishing the slave trade do include some from Liverpool, they were by far the minority. Although its closeness to the midland center of industrialization remade Liverpool within fifty years, at this time it was the hub for the West Indian slave lobby.<sup>199</sup> In a purely bifurcated understanding of the investors, the lack of support from Liverpool might reinforce Clarkson's summation that they were all “good abolitionists,” but it is not that simple.

The investors were not, by and large, those who signed petitions for ending the slave trade. Instead, the largest concentration by occupation was in banking. The majority were, or would soon be, involved in the new industrial boom. The list includes four members of parliament and nine women, but even among them can be found a desire to invest for value, not as a charity, as has been assumed by previous scholars.<sup>200</sup> Among the notables is Sir Richard Arkwright, an inventor who revolutionized wool manufacturing and made his fortune in the process.<sup>201</sup> On the other end of the spectrum is Nathaniel Ward Bowers. He was not on the usual

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<sup>198</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006) 176.

<sup>199</sup> Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 303-305.

<sup>200</sup> Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown: Black Loyalists after the American Revolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland; Simon Schama, 2007); Simon Schama *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999); Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).

<sup>201</sup> Robert S. Fitton, and Alfred P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights: 1758-1830; a Study of the Early Factory System* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1964); See Appendix D for complete listing of investors.

lists of investors, bankers, or factors that peppered international investment institutions. Bowers did not seem to invest in anything else, and when he died at the turn of the eighteenth century, his will listed his Sierra Leone Company stock as his leading bequest to his son, followed by the comb-making business they worked together in the financial center of London. However, even this unusual investor reveals the importance of capital over other issues. Bowers' listing of stocks ahead of his business speaks to at least this one man's belief in the value of those stocks.<sup>202</sup> It is likely no coincidence that the most fashionable material for combs at the time was ivory, and elephants show up in British culture in various forms, including copperplates of exotic West Africa.<sup>203</sup>

The massing of fortunes in the new economies created by modern investment were what these men and women had in common. The list of investors points to the importance of a straightforward fact lying behind the company: they envisioned the colony as an experiment in direct competition with the older road to wealth in slaves. Sierra Leone offered a chance to gamble on the ability to make a profit from free labor in lush West Africa, rather than from slave labor in the West Indian islands. The new British economy still had mercantilist tendencies, and investors embraced them when establishing the structure of the new colony. With headright systems, more efficient management, and the free market principles of the evolving empire, they thought the risk well worth taking.<sup>204</sup>

Some of the backers were both investors and abolitionists. Thornton himself was an integral part of the abolition movement and an educated investor who lived on the inside of London's high society. Another man whose family would be involved in colonization for the

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<sup>202</sup> PROB N Ward, National Archives, Kew Gardens.

<sup>203</sup> Christopher Plumb, "Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Britain" The University of Manchester 2010 p 31, 75. Accessed July 15, 2019 [www.rhinosourcecenter.com/pdf\\_files/134/1345701669.pdf](http://www.rhinosourcecenter.com/pdf_files/134/1345701669.pdf).

<sup>204</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

next fifty years was Samuel Hoare. A Quaker by faith, Hoare was another active abolitionist. At the same time as he made his investment in Sierra Leone, he was also investing in an Irish textile mill and making profits from properties in the midlands that would soon become part of the new mining boom. Previous scholars ignored his involvement with the birth of industrialization because of his humanitarian record, which was explored at great lengths by his daughter when she wrote and published the first work on him.<sup>205</sup>

The imagining of a source of future wealth based on free labor without the problems of revolt was aided by the map of Sierra Leone created by the company and reprinted in its annual bulletins.<sup>206</sup> Although far from the first map of Sierra Leone, as discussed in previous chapters, this map became the principal one used for the remainder of the colonial period. A wall-sized copy in color still hangs in the government building in Freetown. Created expressly for the first annual report of the company, it shows endless possibilities in a way easily understood by British investors. The port with shoals promises a great future. The well-placed shoals created a barrier against the extreme of erosion that could come with being so close to the Atlantic. They also offered a system of clearance for both large ocean-going vessels and smaller coastal and riverboats. While slightly overstated in the map, Freetown, indeed, is one of only two natural ports on the West coast of Africa. The other, Monrovia, would become the nucleus of the American colony of Liberia in the next century. Also overstated is the graduation of land. Instead of the quick rise from swampy jungle to sheer windswept cliffs, the map portrays the land as more suitable for inland travel and farming.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Sarah Hoare, *Memoirs of Samuel Hoare by his Daughter Sarah and his Widow Hannah*, ed. F. R. Pryor (London: Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, 1911).

<sup>206</sup> Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report Delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Delivered to the General Court of Proprietors, 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1794* (London: James Phillips, 1794). Accessed at April 28, 2018.

<sup>207</sup> "Plan of Sierra Leone," drawn by James Phillips found in *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: the Sierra



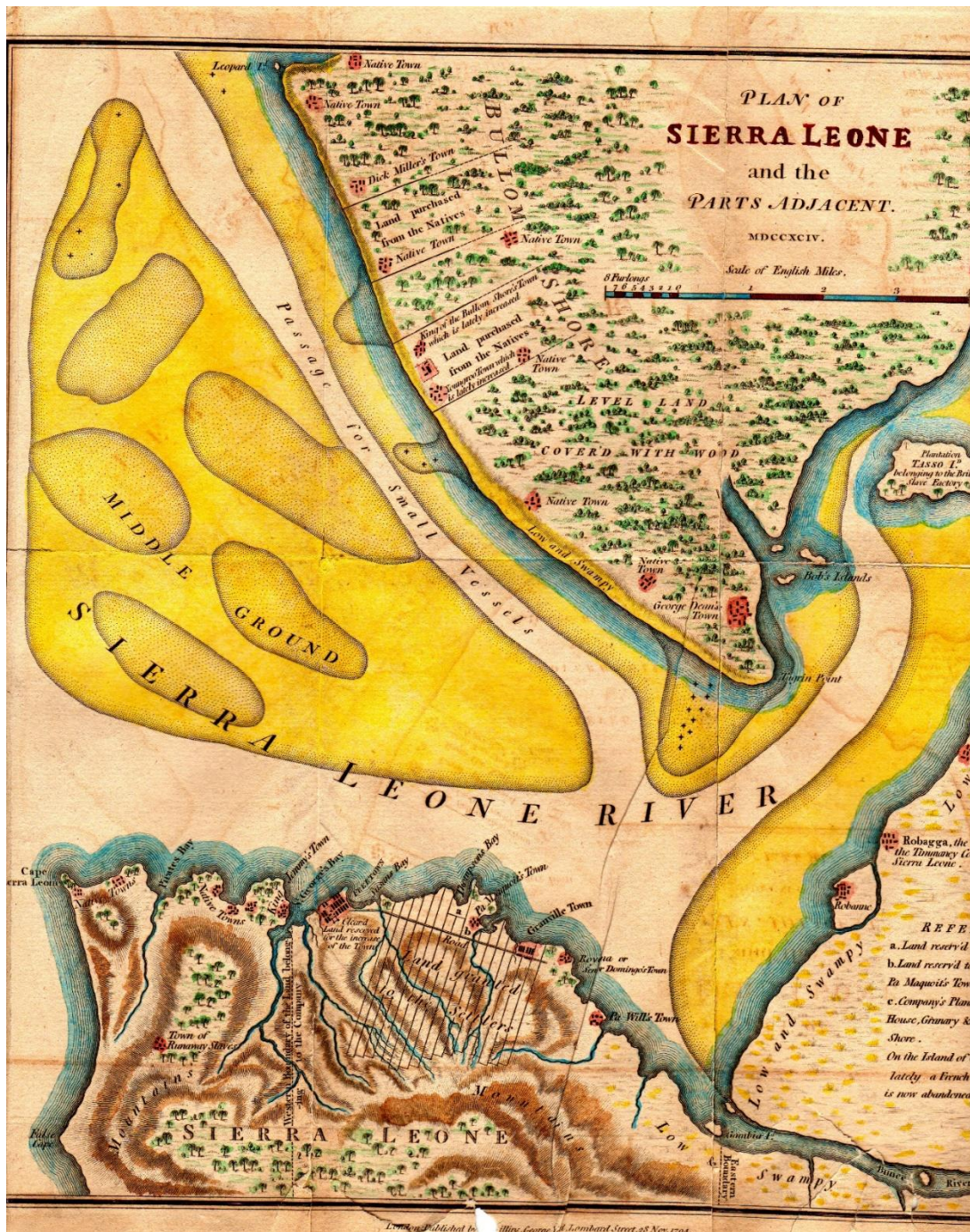


Figure 11 Sierra Leone Company, "Plan of Sierra Leone," in *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: James Phillips, 1794) Front Plate. King's College – London Foyle's Special Collection, DT516 SIE. Digital Image, The Sierra Leone Web, Maps. Accessed January 10, 2019. <http://www.sierra-leone.org/Postcards/MAP332.jpg>

Sierra Leone Company, 1794) Front Plate. Digital Image, King's College – London Foyle's Special Collection, DT516 SIE (Accessed May 28, 2018) <http://www.sierra-leone.org/Postcards/MAP332.jpg>; A. M Falconbridge, *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1793*. (London: Cass, 1967) King's College -London Foyle's Special Collection, DT 516SIE. (Accessed May 28, 2018).



There are many outright lies on the map, too, among them the placement of the towns. Not only is Freetown seen here as a city of fifteen blocks, but outright false is the remainder of Granville Town and the structured layout of “Land Granted to the Settlers” that King Jimmy refuted when he burned the city to the ground. The map reader should notice that the land of the alleged grant shows a gradual sloping, indicating prime farmland to the European viewer. Also, not to be missed is the seemingly endless depth of the land grant. This recurring theme in western maps of Africa mimics early maps of British colonial possessions in America. Also of interest is what is omitted, such as the divisions among tribes or even the presence of French before them. Yet, promising for hopeful expansion of the colony was the “Town of Runaway Slaves.”<sup>208</sup>

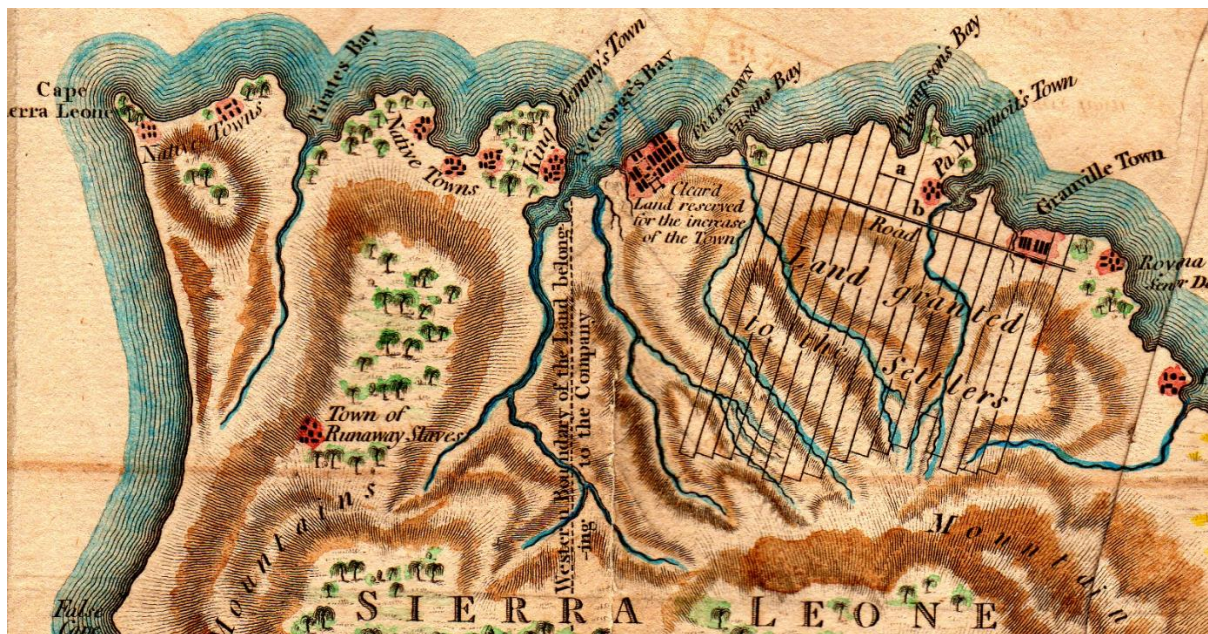


Figure 12 - Sierra Leone Company, “Plan of Sierra Leone,” in *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: James Phillips, 1794) Front Plate. King’s College – London Foyle’s Special Collection, DT516 SIE. Digital Image, *The Sierra Leone Web, Maps*. Accessed January 10, 2019. <http://www.sierra-leone.org/Postcards/MAP332.jpg>.

<sup>208</sup>Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006); J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery the Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995).

The British Parliament approved the company on the first day of June 1791, six months before the last investment, and simultaneous with the arrival of the new colonists and the new year of 1792, the third group of colonists embarked.<sup>209</sup> Newspapers that had been silent for the previous two years on Sierra Leone no longer reported on the bad news coming out of the region. Instead, papers in every corner of England reprinted a detailed and optimistic list of goods loaded onto the ships with the new generation of immigrants.<sup>210</sup> The list did not stop at goods, but also revealed towards the end of its six hundred words a list of the white experts who were being sent to ensure that this colony would succeed. For the next few years, the papers continually mentioned the colony in conjunction with the trade network of the empire, until the French attacked and burned Freetown as part of the larger war with England in 1794.<sup>211</sup>

The directors during this time complained in reports to the investors of the difficulty of obtaining steady farm labor from the settlers or the natives. They made it clear that the responsibility lay not with the organization's directives, but the laziness of the black-skinned people that were to provide the labor. The real labor problem, however, came from the inability of the company to recruit additional colonists. Their discussions reveal that they had always expected that the Black poor of England would eagerly go to the colony once the Nova Scotian colonists and the company got everything off the ground.

Fresh infusions of approximately 1,200 black Loyalists from Nova Scotia in 1792 and 550 Jamaican Maroons in 1800 made up for demographic losses but also added new sources of

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<sup>209</sup> *Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* (Bath) June 02, 1791, Front Page.

<sup>210</sup> *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia) Feb 04, 1792; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb 16, 1792, Front Page; *The Evening Mail* (Greater London) July 11, 1792, Front Page.

<sup>211</sup> *The Derby Mercury* (Derbyshire, England) Feb 20, 1794, Front Page; *The General Advertiser* (Philadelphia) March 20, 1795, Front Page; *State Gazette of North Carolina* (New Bern) April 16, 1795, Front Page.

contention.<sup>212</sup> The colony expanded with these many new arrivals, but the new arrivals had very little in common with the earlier colonists. The whites who came to Sierra Leone to run the colony were more interested in rum from neighboring slave factories than in education or provisioning the colony.<sup>213</sup> The Sierra Leone Company did mint coins and even managed to build a fort, expanding its institutional power. The company scraped by thanks to events involving the British government and the expansion of the empire. In 1794 the French burned Freetown as part of the ongoing revolutionary wars with Great Britain, the British papers expressed sympathy for the town, giving the government room to provide funds for its rebuilding.<sup>214</sup> The more significant boon came from the fallout from the British government's failure to fulfill its promise to Jamaican maroons. Runaway slaves had lived with native Indians in the backcountry of Jamaica for centuries. In Britain's nervousness following the swell of revolutions throughout the atlantic world, it had attempted to clear out these groups, but faced stiffer opposition than expected and in a truce agreed to resettle them elsewhere. It sent them to Nova Scotia. Once again, the bitter racism of Nova Scotia had the same effect, and this time the London newspapers were full of stories about the mistreated people.<sup>215</sup> The company gladly stepped in and agreed to take them off the government's hands for a small fee. The directors were excited by the potential increase in the labor force for the colony. Their frustration only

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<sup>212</sup> Suzanne Schwarz, "From Company Administration to Crown Control: Experimentation and Adaptation in Sierra Leone in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. by Paul Ellsworth Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2015) 174-179.

<sup>213</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007); Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).

<sup>214</sup> *The Derby Mercury* (Derby, Derbyshire, England) 04 Jun 1795, Page 2; *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Advertiser* (Leeds, West Yorkshire, England) 09 Feb 1795, Front Page; *Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 20 Mar 1795, Page 2.

<sup>215</sup> *The Times* (London, Greater London, England) 04 Dec 1792, Page 3; *The Evening Mail* (London, Greater London, England) 11 Jul 1792, Page 3; *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (Oxford, Oxfordshire, England) 08 Dec 1792, Page 2.

increased when the migrants did not meet their expectations. A decade after the exuberant takeover, over ninety percent of the company's capital had disappeared. The knowledge of how bad the colony was doing was kept from the public as bankruptcy loomed in the early years of the new century.

Instead, the news of Sierra Leone that made its way into other regions of the Anglo-Atlantic world portrayed a colony slowly coming together. Newspapers from London to the backcountry of Pennsylvania reported in 1802 on the successful resistance of the colony against a native attack and the beginning of a newspaper in Freetown, the first and “only paper on the widely extended coast of Africa.”<sup>216</sup> The colony and members of the government talked in back rooms of a public takeover of the colony but held off on any action until after the final passage of the Abolition Act in 1807. Once the Act passed, the newspapers began to freely print stories of the new crown colony's struggles, giving the investors and their friends in Parliament excellent cover for making the colony a part of the crown. The location made it indispensable to the actions of the British government. It would act as a port for reinforcement when perusing the coast in search of slave trading ships to commandeer. More important in the long run, instead of sending recaptives back to their native region, they would be unloaded into the colony, thereby adding to the economic output.<sup>217</sup> What the company could not achieve, the government managed through ending the slave trade, thereby necessitating the creation of an English port in Africa, which opened up the region for expansion of the British empire and its capitalist trade networks.

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<sup>216</sup>*London Courier and Evening Gazette*, February 15, 1802, Monday Edition, Front Page; *The Weekly Franklin Repository* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) · Wed, Nov 3, 1802 · Page 2.

<sup>217</sup>*The Bury and Norwich Post* (Bury, Suffolk, England) February 18, 1807, Front Page; *Hampshire Telegraph and Naval Chronicle* (Portsmouth, Hampshire, England) March 30, 1807, Front Page; *The Morning Chronicle* (London), March 28, 1807, and March 10, 1807; *The Observer* (London) March 15, 1807, Front Page; *Jackson's Oxford Journal* February 07, 1807, Front Page; *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (Newcastle upon Tyne, England) March 21, 1807, Front Page.



### 3.3.1 Black Skin

Lost in the historiography of the beginning of Sierra Leone is not just the definitive shift from one white group of backers to another; the change in black inhabitants was if anything more abrupt. That fact was also withheld from the new investors of the Sierra Leone Company. Left out of all the discussions about recruiting the needed investors was the fact that the settlement was entirely burned to the ground by the new King Jimmy of the neighboring Temne in 1789. The old King had agreed to give the settlers a place on the lower coast, but King Jimmy had no such relationship with them but rather, in fact, enjoyed a working relationship with slave traders. In the meantime, the colony had finally negotiated with another neighboring native group for access to an essential watering hole. King Jimmy tried to use the limited water access as a bargaining chip to extract a new agreement between the colony and himself. The problem was that the colony had nothing left to give to King Jimmy. The King could not be seen as weak, so he attacked the village. The remaining hundred colonists scattered into the jungle. An English man-of-war, the HMS *Pomona*, had been sent to protect them, but its captain, Henry Savage, watched from the deck as the settlement was attacked, going ashore only to bury the dead. He refused the settlers' pleas to carry them to safety and sailed away on December 3. Three days later, King Jimmy burned the settlement. He then gave shelter to the few remaining colonists who wished to join his tribe.<sup>218</sup> Sharp supposedly did not hear of this for over a year. While generally accepted by historians, three to six months was how long it usually took for information to travel through the Atlantic Triangle at this time.<sup>219</sup> While it would seem

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<sup>218</sup> *Stamford Mercury* (Lincolnshire, England) April 6, 1792, Front Page; "'African' Settlers in the Founding of Freetown" in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. by Paul Ellsworth Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2015) 128-139.

<sup>219</sup> Ellen G. Wilson, *John Clarkson and the African Adventure*. New York: Macmillan Limited, 1980; Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006); Cassandra Prybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their*

inconvenient that while Thornton and the Company raised the bulk of the investment, the last remaining vestige of the colony had been wiped from the face of the earth already, instead it

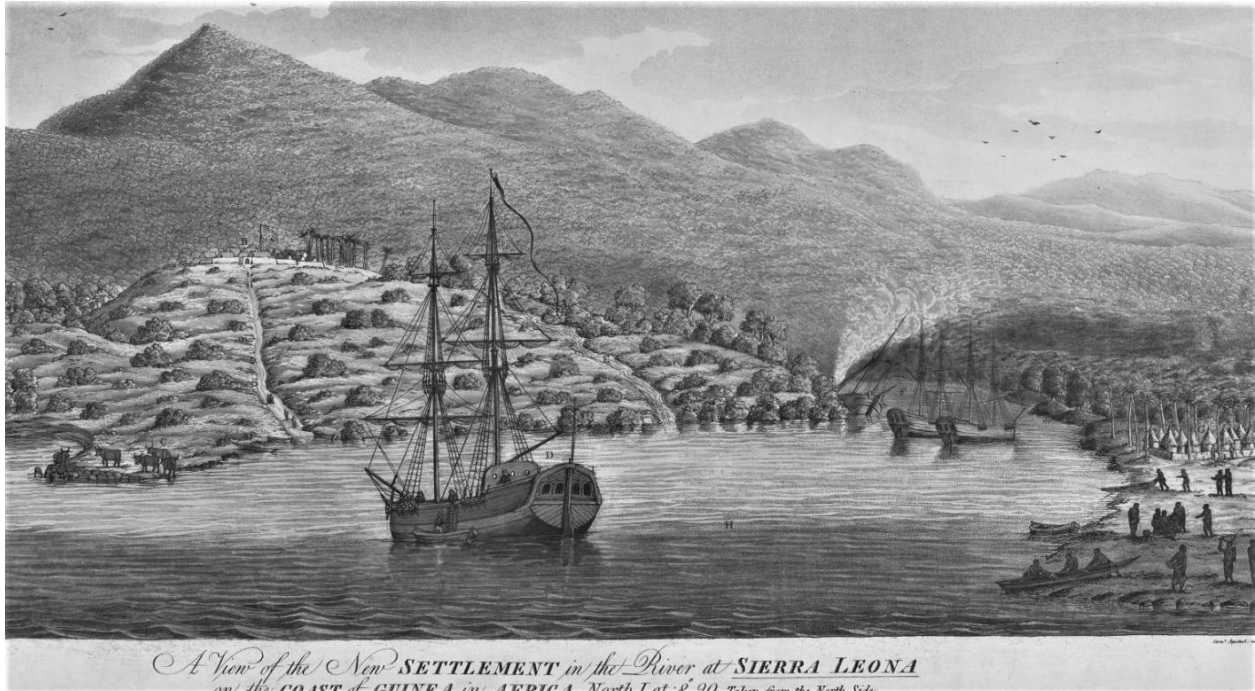


Figure 13 - Detail from a popular image that backed up Granville Sharp's False Narrative – *A View of the New Settlement in the River at Sierra Leone*, Creator Cornelis Apostool (London, 1790). British Library, Maps K.Top.117.100, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-colony-of-sierra-leone>

gave them the opportunity to start with a clean slate. None of the first generation would be there to protest the loss of rights.<sup>220</sup> The publications of the Society were all that remained of the first British colony in Africa when the new colonists arrived.

At the same time, as King Jimmy burned the village in Africa and the investor list for the new company was filling up in England, Thomas Clarkson landed in Nova Scotia hunting for a new labor source for the colony. Unemployed because of past problems with alcoholism, Thomas went, at his brother's bequest, to find the new colonists and lead them to their new

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*Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006); Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants Across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2010).

<sup>220</sup> Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* (London: Cass, 1968).

home.<sup>221</sup> The three thousand Blacks in Nova Scotia were all that remained of the thirty thousand slaves who had tried to join Lord Cornwallis in Virginia during the American Revolution. When the British fleet left in defeat, they offloaded the former slaves in a barren part of coastal Canada, promising them land grants that never materialized. According to an outspoken member of their group, Thomas Peters, the Canadians treated them worse than their Virginia masters.<sup>222</sup> Peters had set out on a passing ship for London, looking for the fabled Granville Sharp. Once in London, he found the new group of colonizationists which gladly profited from the idea of taking them to a new home. One thousand of the African Americans who escaped slavery through siding with the British during the American Revolution left the bitter cold and racism of Halifax to be the second string of colonist for Sierra Leone. The portrayal of this movement in the press and maps posted at events created an imagined community of African settlers just waiting among the whites of the Atlantic World for a new home.<sup>223</sup>

When Clarkson and the new colonists arrived, they found nothing left but a muddy shore and enemies all around. These colonists spent the next decade being eliminated slowly, like the last group, by disease, tribal wars, and slave traders. Under the new company directors, the democratic ideals of the old colony gave way to a structure that operated much like a penal colony or prison. All movement was watched to ensure that no one deserted, and strict rules were applied only to the Blacks. To add to the fallacies on the map of the colony, the land grants not only did not exist as depicted, but the company decided that all waterfront lots would instead go

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<sup>221</sup> Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006); Cassandra Prybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

<sup>222</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006) 271, 307.

<sup>223</sup> Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006); J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-slavery the Mobilisation of Public Opinion Against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995).

to the white officers and personnel. Without waterfront, not only did the black colonists have to pay the company an agreed-upon tax, but they also were forced to barter crops with whites for access to the river, the source of all exports and imports. Furthermore, the complete disparity between the mapped lots and reality caused Clarkson to give them only a fifth of the promised land. Clarkson and his successor did anything they could to appease their neighbors and protect the village from complete loss, but this further constricted the abilities of the new colonists.<sup>224</sup>

Once the land was divided and the settlers began to work, things did not get any better. The yields were never enough, and a series of governors trying to answer each new summons from the company directors kept the colonists from figuring out what would work for themselves. The burning of the village in 1794 by the French as a byproduct of the ongoing war between the two European rivals may have been their salvation in the short term. For once, the English rallied for a moment behind the colony, with the government supplying funds for rebuilding Freetown. For a time, this made life better as the colonists became town dwellers and used the town as a marketing center for subsistence, but the company was unhappy as cash crops were not forthcoming. Once the maroons arrived, in 1801, things did not improve as desired. Oddly enough, the few references in the history of Sierra Leone to these colonists indicate that unlike the two previous groups of colonists, some originated in Africa. The 1802 revolt was probably led by these men. Either way, life for the colonists continued to be one of mud, disease, and extreme toil.<sup>225</sup> With the constraints they had experienced under the company, the change to military rule as a crown colony if anything made life easier for some, as a diversity of jobs

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<sup>224</sup> Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2007) 170-171.

<sup>225</sup> Mavis Christine Campbell and George Ross, *Back to Africa George Ross and the Maroons: from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1993).

supporting the troops appeared. The ideal self-ruling society still spoken of in newspapers around the Atlantic was, if anything, just a distant memory.

As the French were burning the village of black-skinned former slaves in West Africa, other former slaves of American patriots who had gained their freedom by other means were thinking of moving to the colony. The Union Association tied to William Thornton's earlier attempt in Rhode Island had not given up on the idea of returning to Africa and establishing a separate country. In 1795, the secretary of the group, James McKenzie, traveled to Sierra Leone to assess the progress of the colonists.<sup>226</sup> While the new group made it plain that they must have freedom from all whites if they went, they incorporated the help of a white Congregationalist minister, Reverend Thomas Hopkins. He published a plea for money for the group, which was an exact copy of the one printed previously by William Thornton, with an addition designed to find white support but that ended any chance of people of color signing on.

This will gradually draw off all the Blacks in New England, and even in the Middle and Southern States, as fast as they can be set free, by which this nation will be delivered from that which, in the view of every discerning man is a great calamity, and inconsistent with the good of society, and is now really a great injury to most of the white inhabitants... And by the increase and flourishing of such a plantation of free people in Africa, where all the tropical fruits and productions, and the articles which we fetch from the West Indies, may be raised in great abundance, by proper cultivation, and many other useful things procure, a commerce may take place and be maintained, between those settlements and the United States of America.<sup>227</sup>

The black men who desired to migrate to Africa had no choice but to abandon both the plan and the Reverend because of his call to send all Blacks back to Africa. Any move to create autonomy with the wealth of whites would necessarily feed white desires to see all Blacks sent to

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<sup>226</sup> Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization 1787-1863* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois P., 1975) 9-53.

<sup>227</sup> Samuel Hopkins and Edwards Amasa Park, *The Works of Samuel Hopkins ... With a Memoir of His Life and Character* (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1974) compared to original plea in *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut) May 10, 1788, Page 2.

a far shore to generate profits for white backers. These Free men of color from northern states only wanted to create black-owned businesses with trade networks that profited themselves and their people and connected them to the land of their ancestors. The quickness with which the minister jumped from supporting investment in the venture to the wholesale movement of all black people caused them to pull back and wait on their dreams. One of their members, Paul Cuffe, a Boston shipowner, would continue to be interested. His evident business savvy meant he knew that patience was his watchword for the time being.

### 3.4.1 Results

As discussions of first the French and then the Haitian Revolution came to dominate the news, Sierra Leone was used in pamphlets and newspapers by supporters and opponents as an example of what happens when the subaltern rises against its oppressors, solidifying ideas of a racial difference in British minds and reinforcing the desire for recolonization efforts.<sup>228</sup> As the old century ended and the new began, recolonization would become the physical manifestation of the commercial and political dreams of many different groups and individuals.

Out of the writings of supporters, one document from 1797 stands out in light of later events. A young Irish Protestant named James Workman published a scheme to take Mexico from the Spanish and people it with the Irish poor. While an unrealistic dream that came to nothing, Workman repeatedly referenced Sierra Leone. He pointed out several times that the move to end the slave trade was a step in the right direction, and stated, “We deceive ourselves if we imagine that we have so far brutalized the negroes, or rather degraded them below the state of

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<sup>228</sup> Jerome Nadelhaft, “The Somerset Case and Slavery: Myth, Reality, and Representation” *The Journal of Negro History* 51. (1966) 193-208; Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

the brute creation, that they cannot distinguish between freedom and slavery.”<sup>229</sup> He was sure that the African slaves could also govern themselves with help from a benefactor. In his plan, he goes so far as to say that “freeing slaves will free whites.”<sup>230</sup> Workman also warned: “The same instruments, which acquire and maintain despotic power over a subdued nation, will soon become, in the hands of the government of its oppressors, the means of domestic as well as foreign tyranny.”<sup>231</sup> But Workman took out all references to slavery in his writings after he moved to the United States, where he eventually became a judge in Louisiana. Only in the last years of his life did Workman renew some of his interest in the United States’ sister colony in Africa. In 1830, he would be a founding member of a chapter of the ACS.<sup>232</sup> Meanwhile, as the United States experienced what Jefferson’s supporters called the second revolution following his election and the first successful transition from one party to another, a revolt in Virginia would reinforce the need to end the slave trade. The Virginians needed to find a place to transform their slave capital into free labor, opening the door for another organization to recolonize Blacks to West Africa.

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<sup>229</sup> James Workman, *Political Essays Relative to the War of the French Revolution, viz: An Argument Against Continuing the War for the Subversion of the Republican Government: A Letter to the Duke of Portland Being an Answer to the Two Letters of the Late Right Honorable Edmund Burke, Against Treating for Peace with the French Republic and A Memorial proposing a Plan for the Conquest and Emancipation of Spanish America by Means Which Would Promote the Tranquility of Ireland* (Alexandria, Virginia: Cotton & Stewart, 1801). The Last section beginning with “A Memorial” did not appear in any form in the second printing.

<sup>230</sup> Workman, *Political*, 140.

<sup>231</sup> Workman, *Political*, 146.

<sup>232</sup>*The Louisiana Advertiser* (New Orleans) October 14, 1832, Obituaries.

Chapter 4  
THE AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS  
1807 – 1816

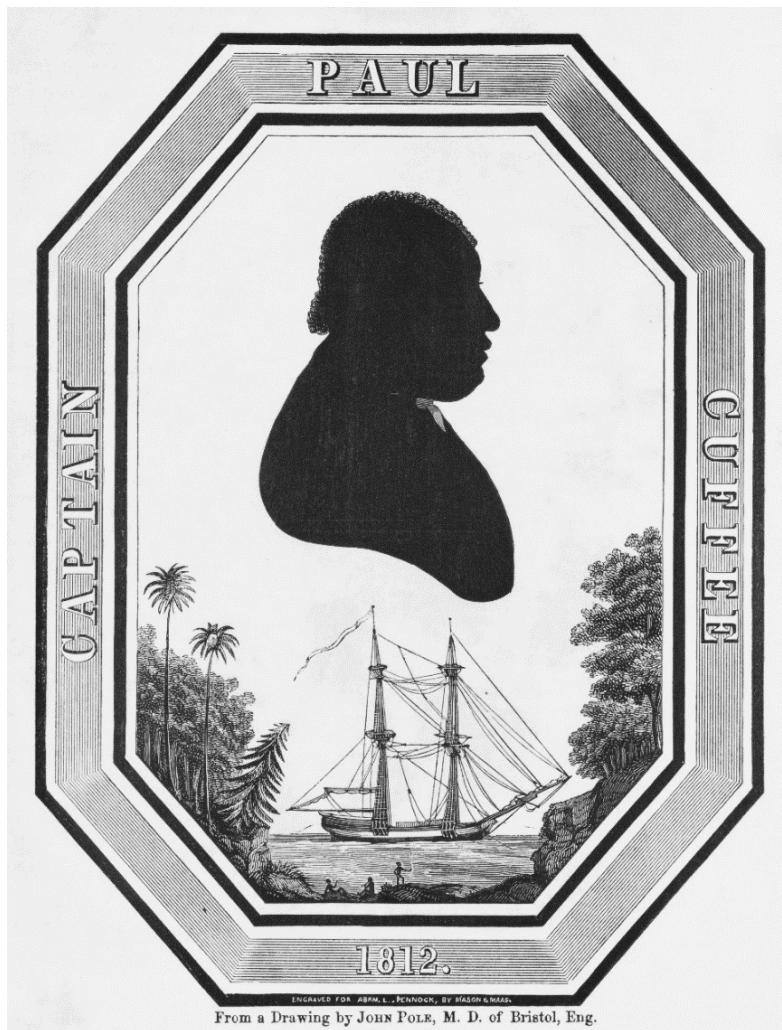


Figure 14 Mason & Maas, *Paul Cuffee 1812* Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540. Accessed December 23, 2019. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>



On January 1, 1808, both the British and the United States governments announced the official end of the international slave trade. Acting separately but concurrently, the mother country and its former colony had both crawled toward this moment over a period of twenty years. 1807 saw many speeches and laws that laid the final foundation for the coming acts. It also saw a mad dash of slave trading throughout the Atlantic. In West Africa, the immediate effect on slave prices was minuscule. The demand stayed relatively high due to the expansion of native economies in various agricultural products. British investors dreamt of new ways to use palm oil as a lubricant for machinery, causing a bubble of activity and newsprint about West Africa's importance to future market expansion.<sup>233</sup> Over the next two years, the price of "free" labor almost doubled in England.<sup>234</sup> The international business community envisioned taking the Sierra Leone colony out of the existing system of production, and instead shipping its raw materials to the heart of the empire to employ the expanding laboring masses instead of to the riskier slave structure. However, the ending of the slave trade in Great Britain and the United States did not mean the end of the system of chattel slavery. The slave population would now only grow within each locale by natural increase. Southern states saw increasing values of slaves as an influx of European migrants came into the South looking to make their own fortunes from slavery. The new and old whites would move westward, fueling an internal trade for the next half century. Nevertheless, in the short run, British enforcement of the new slave-trading laws

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<sup>233</sup> Lovejoy, Paul E., and David Richardson. "British Abolition and Its Impact on Slave Prices Along the Atlantic Coast of Africa, 1783-1850." *The Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 1 (1995): 98-119. [www.jstor.org/stable/2123769](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2123769); Eltis, David. "Was Abolition of the U.S. and British Slave Trade Significant in the Broader Atlantic Context?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 66, no. 4 (2009): 715-36. [www.jstor.org/stable/40467538](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40467538).

<sup>234</sup> Carroll Davidson Wright and Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, "Comparative Wages, Prices, And Cost of Living" *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for 1885* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1889) 53. (Accessed May 17, 2018) <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89071501472&view=1up&seq=69>

breathed new life into recolonization, through the example of the functioning British colony that grew with the Africans recaptured off slave trading ships bound for the Americas. Both black and white Americans looked to the British success presented in newsprint as a sign for a way forward, but disagreed on the proper route to take.

Only a decade separates the ending of the slave trade and the beginning of the American Colonization Society. Beginning in 1812, a second war commenced between the United States and the global empire. The war with the former colonial master would come to an end without a clear winner in 1814. The African Institution, set up following the implosion of the Sierra Leone Company and the overtaking of the government in Freetown by the British government, attempted to increase once again the migration of Free People of Color the West African colony, this time looking to other parts of the Atlantic world. From partial ignorance of how wrong its assertions were, the association released a constant stream of information about the moral righteousness and economic success of Sierra Leone. The majority of the new colonists were actually re-captives, but the reported successes led one group of African American leaders to envision an Atlantic trading network independent of the British and American governments. White Americans instead sought to create their own recolonization project and shape it to their economic needs.

#### 4.1.1 Historiography

This period is usually pointed to as the natural separation point between the British and American colonial endeavors. The general narrative of the history of recolonization is of two separate movements, one in England that died with the crown takeover of Sierra Leone, and the American movement that started a decade later. Modern historiography has begun to reach

across this divide, including through the story of Paul Cuffe and the re-captives deposited in Sierra Leone, both discussed later in this chapter.<sup>235</sup> Microhistories of certain aspects of the American Colonization Society (ACS) have begun to explore the role not only of Cuffe but of its white members from 1816 onward.<sup>236</sup>

A closer look at the foundation of the movement shows how the African Institution spread across the Atlantic, and its propaganda output kept the idea of recolonization alive. Paul Cuffe's actions as part of one American ACS chapter and the stealing of his dream by whites were both outcomes of the movement's character as a capitalist solution. The white American advocates for recolonization grappled with finding a closer alternative, before finally taking their cue from what they chose to hear from Cuffe and the campaign of the African Institution following the War of 1812. The actions of both groups were predicated on developing a presence in West Africa and would play an undeniable part in the future of the movement and the ending of the slave trade. The continued propaganda output from London and the dawning of American interest in colonizing both would play a part in the ensuing struggle to end the slave trade.

#### 4.2.1 White Money - The Association

In July of 1807, Parliament received a report from a new organization called the African Association. Since April, the organization had periodically posted pieces in the British newspapers to raise awareness of the possibilities of civilizing Africa with the ending of the

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<sup>235</sup> Richard Anderson, *Abolition in Sierra Leone: Re-Building Lives and Identities in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Mary Beth Start "Remembering and Forgetting – Local History and the Kin of Paul Cuffe in the Upper Canadian Quaker Community" in Gallup-Diaz, Ignacio, and Geoffrey Gilbert Plank ed. *Quakers and Native Americans* (London: Brill, 2019).

<sup>236</sup> Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017); Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Andrew K. Diemer, *The Politics of Black Citizenship: Free African Americans in the Mid-Atlantic Borderland, 1817-1863* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2016).

slave trade.<sup>237</sup> The identities of those in attendance at the organization's first meeting in the hall of the Free Masons are not known, nor exactly what was said, but they did provide a list of fifty-five public figures in banking and political circles who supported their cause. Next to the names of William Pitt, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson, the papers listed Henry and William Thornton as well as other prominent members of the Sierra Leone Company.<sup>238</sup>

Once the organization finally gained an audience with Parliament, its members repeated much of what they had presented in London papers. They came to the conclusion that by ending the slave trade, a period of social "development" and "civilization" would automatically follow that would profit the British business community.<sup>239</sup> While the document sent to Parliament stated their aim to disseminate information throughout the whole of the African continent, it went on to state that just as great a priority was the discovery and transmission throughout Britain of "ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial faculties" of the continent to better assist the expansion of said civilization. The African Association made it clear that the network of information would result in raw materials and agricultural products being shipped to British manufacturers.<sup>240</sup> The news of its report was then written up across the British Isles and would even make it into a Philadelphia newspaper.<sup>241</sup>

With the transition of the Sierra Leone company's holdings into a new British crown colony in 1808, the African Institution immediately began to advocate for the recapture of slaves

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<sup>237</sup> *Sun* London (Tuesday 28 April 1807) Front Page; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* (Friday 08 May 1807) Front Page; *Star* London (Monday 29 June 1807) Front Page.

<sup>238</sup> *Morning Post* (Friday 17 April 1807) Page 2.

<sup>239</sup> *Report of the Committee of the African Institution. Read by the General Meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1807* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1811) 1. Accessed July 15, 2019.  
[https://archive.org/stream/reportcommittee03englgoog/reportcommittee03englgoog\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/reportcommittee03englgoog/reportcommittee03englgoog_djvu.txt).

<sup>240</sup> *Report of the Committee of the African Institution. Read by the General Meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1807* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1811) 2. Accessed July 15, 2019.  
[https://archive.org/stream/reportcommittee03englgoog/reportcommittee03englgoog\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/reportcommittee03englgoog/reportcommittee03englgoog_djvu.txt).

<sup>241</sup> *Bury and Norwich Post* (Wednesday 04 November 1807) 4; *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* (Edinburgh July 1810) 485.

in transit from Africa and their relocation to the new colony in Sierra Leone. The organization also played a part in the founding of the new colony. When the Institution's handpicked governor Thomas Perronet Thompson arrived, he at first enacted their wishes. He took control of the *Sierra Leone Gazette*, admonishing the colonists to stop moving into Freetown and instead expand their farm plots to grow "cotton, indigo, and rice and the planting of coffee."<sup>242</sup>

While Thompson arrived believing, like the Institution, that the former American slaves who came by way of Nova Scotia were a menace due to their democratic ideas, he soon started to find some of the Institution's programs problematic. As part of its London report, the Institution had included a series of prizes for the farmer who grew the most of several of the leading crops. Thompson wrote of his confusion at such a prize after realizing that the largest operations in the colony were not owned by natives or black colonists, but by the white members of the society.<sup>243</sup> After suppressing a Temne rebellion against an Institution-controlled farming operation at Bunce Island in 1809, he began to question the entire apprenticeship program. The Abolition Act passed that year stated that those recaptured from slave-trading ventures could not be put directly into the general population, but should be made apprentices in order to teach them how to be free. The Institute wholeheartedly supported this, and its membership was involved in the resulting plantations that exploded over the following decade across Sierra Leone. Thompson early on saw that this was not an effective transition but rather a continuation of slavery that carried with it problems of revolt. When he complained to Wilberforce, he was recalled. The

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<sup>242</sup> *Sierra Leone Gazette* (August 15, 1808) Freetown, Sierra Leone; David Lambert, 'Sierra Leone and Other Sites in the War of Representation over Slavery', *History Workshop Journal* 64, (2007): 105.

<sup>243</sup> *Report of the Committee of the African Institution. Read by the General Meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1808* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1812) iv.

system would continue to create profits for members of the Institution, and result in the colony being portrayed as finally a success.<sup>244</sup>

Education was basically non-existent in Freetown, as it was impossible to recruit teachers from the English-speaking world. Nevertheless, the capture of slave ships and resettlement had begun to make a difference. Life had improved for the settlers with the new lines of employment offered by the constant navy presence. The constant influx of new Africans taken from slave ships made it a cosmopolitan center even in its poverty. The diversity of languages and customs began to make Freetown a crossroads of Christianity, Islam, and native-based beliefs. The Institution, however, only remarked on the number of churches in the colony and pushed forward a nonstop litany of education plans that never seemed to materialize.<sup>245</sup>

For all its ongoing involvement in the oppression of those of African descent, the African Institute consistently railed in England about how few trials were held to indict slave-traders. While they presented the supposed corruption of the judges who heard the cases to the residents of London, Cheltenham, and Edinburgh, the details of these cases proved the fundamental problem with such trials. The first to go all the way to trial was a Dutch trader by the name of Samuel Samo. The difficulty was not that he was not guilty of trading, but that the British had no jurisdiction over him. Finding himself in an impossible position, the judge started his own propaganda campaign saying that if other British traders would come forward and swear to be done with the trade, he would release Samo. In truth, he had little choice, but the campaign worked. The problem of jurisdiction consistently undermined the trials, but the African Institute

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<sup>244</sup> Wayne Ackerson *The African Institution (1807-1827) and the Antislavery Movement in Great Britain* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005) 55-70.

<sup>245</sup> *Sixth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, Read at the Annual General Meeting on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1812* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1812) 27; *London Courier and Evening Gazette* - Thursday 25 July 1816.

ignored this fact as it blamed the Crown for failing to help to do everything it could to end the trade.<sup>246</sup>

While the ending of the slave trade dominated news reports about Sierra Leone throughout the English-speaking world, mentions of the African Institute were synonymous with the expansion of other trade. In his last year in office, President Thomas Jefferson pushed an Embargo Act through congress meant to stop all external trade. The Institution capitalized on the situation by shipping such products as Georgia Sea Island Cottonseed to Sierra Leone, claiming that it would make up the resulting shortfall of cotton within the year. But the cotton did not grow well in the African weather, and a newly elected congress repealed Jefferson's draconian measure. As almost an afterthought, the product that was making its way from Sierra Leone and into British markets was "African rice" being sent to the West Indies to feed those still enslaved.<sup>247</sup> The previous determination that sugar would be an ideal crop to harvest and make the colony profitable had disappeared from colonization literature. The price of sugar had fallen to a point where it was clear that it would not be profitable even if the colony could grow enough.<sup>248</sup> Instead, the Institute sent a constant string of "Cotton seeds, cotton gins, hemp hackles, and plants."<sup>249</sup> When mentioned by historians, such products are relegated to a place of unimportance, as the Institution is lumped together with later abolitionists organizations.<sup>250</sup>

However, a closer look at the association's £3,000 sterling annual spending shows that much of

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<sup>246</sup> *Nottingham Gazette, and Political, Literary, Agricultural & Commercial Register for the Midland Counties*. - Friday 17 February 1815; Emily Halsam, 2012. "Redemption, Colonialism and International Criminal Law". in Kirkby, Diane Elizabeth. *Past law, present histories*. Canberra, Acton, A.C.T.: ANU E Press, 2012. 7 <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4595545>.

<sup>247</sup> *Hereford Journal* - Wednesday 18 January 1809, Front Page; *Hampshire Chronicle* - Monday 23 January 1809, Front Page.

<sup>248</sup> *Nottingham Gazette* - Friday 17 February 1815, Front Page; *London Courier and Evening Gazette* - Thursday 24 July 1817, Front Page.

<sup>249</sup> *London Courier and Evening Gazette* - Thursday 25 July 1816, Back Page.

<sup>250</sup> Wayne Ackerson *The African Institution (1807-1827) and the Antislavery Movement in Great Britain* (Lampeter, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).

it went to crop seeds and attempts to educate the colony's new residents about agricultural products. The failure of these products to either be profitable or grown in abundance is referred to by historians as evidence of the organization's humanitarian desires—desires which were questionable, as its interest on the ground extended to having plantations worked by re-captured Africans who were kept as little more than slaves.<sup>251</sup>

The African Institution did spend money and time more effectively. The Institution's members decided to become involved in the second voyage of Mungo Park to find the source of the Niger River. Park had made an earlier attempt funded by Joseph Banks, the British entrepreneur who figures in Chapter 2, and the very fact that he had returned alive to Great Britain in 1797 marked it as a success. Park published an account in 1799 in which he developed the theory that the Niger and the Congo rivers conjoined at some point.<sup>252</sup> His return out of a comfortable retirement in 1805 was a moment of great excitement for the future of British knowledge of interior Africa. The African Institution in its annual reports and private communications showed a continual interest in Park's expedition, although unbeknownst to its members, he is believed to have died in early 1806 in Jebba, Nigeria (See Figure 2).<sup>253</sup> Such an expedition, no matter its findings, suggested a future in which the British would be able to make trading inroads into interior West Africa. In this vision, Sierra Leone would serve as a port and proving ground for the expansion of the organization's reach. The African Institution was the first to disseminate a series of apocryphal stories about the whereabouts of Mungo Park in

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<sup>251</sup> *Belfast Commercial Chronicle* Wednesday 05 April 1809, Front Page; *Hampshire Chronicle* - Monday 23 January 1809;

<sup>252</sup> Mungo Park and Isaaco, *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa: In the Year 1805. Together with Other Documents, Official and Private, Relating to the Same Mission. To Which Is Prefixed an Account of the Life of Mr. Park* (London, John Murray, 1815) xciv. Accessed July 16, 2019, <https://archive.org/details/journalofmission00park/page/n6>; Frank McLynn, *Hearts of Darkness: The European Exploration of Africa* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1992) 13-19.

<sup>253</sup> Robin Hallett, *The Penetration of Africa: European Exploration in North and West Africa to 1815* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965) 343.





Figure 15 “Mungo Park’s Travels In Africa” Overlay from J. D. Fage and Maureen Verity, *An Atlas of African History*. London: Arnold, 1978.

1810.<sup>254</sup> The association felt that continued interest in Park’s exploits meant that even with his disappearance, the publication of his second expedition would be beneficial.

In 1815, as the Congress of Vienna was meeting to return “peace” to Europe following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Institute published *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa, in the Year 1805*, with Park listed as the author.<sup>255</sup> The volume is filled with exciting tales that would be both exotic and relatable to the English-speaking public. It spoke of Moors and his perils in escaping them, but also of the simple life of the people, including a young Mandingo woman he took up with to survive. It also detailed several different local processes for

<sup>254</sup> *Kentish Gazette* - Friday 24 August 1810, Back Page; Sun (London) - Tuesday 21 August 1810, Page 4; Cheltenham Chronicle - Thursday 10 September 1812, Back Page.

<sup>255</sup> Mungo Park and Isaaco, *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa: In the Year 1805. Together with Other Documents, Official and Private, Relating to the Same Mission. To Which Is Prefixed an Account of the Life of Mr. Park* (London, John Murray, 1815) xciv. Accessed July 16, 2019, <https://archive.org/details/journalofmission00park/page/n6>; Robin Hallett, *The Penetration of Africa: European Exploration in North and West Africa to 1815* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965) 343.

cooking and growing crops. Of interest to the resource-hungry viewer was his detailed explanation of how a woman showed him to sift through gravel for small quantities of gold. In actuality, the book was based on letters from a Mandingo man, Isaaco, who previously served as a guide to Park. An African Institution representative, Sierra Leonean Governor Charles Maxwell, met with Isaaco following an 1810 correspondence. Together they put together the thrilling tale, with an additional portion at the end in the words of Isaaco to explain details surrounding the hunt for Park.<sup>256</sup>

At first glance, the publication of the dead explorer's notes presents a picture of the Institution's willingness to expand knowledge even when it went against its own interest. However, the African Institution saw this as fantastic publicity for the possibilities of the future of West African trade. Its members would see the expansion of their networks in a system that, while not removing slavery, would secure their investments to locales where the black population could be controlled in a more profitable system than that of chattel slavery. The bankers and other investors could control the industrial mechanism through ownership of the land and trade goods. Public support meant less restrictions on their ability to make profits, but did little for the actual operations. The public support did ensure that the government would leave them alone to reap the benefit as they handled the incorporation of the recaptives deposited in Sierra Leone. The Institute only saw these recaptives as a buffer, for the economy with recaptured slaves taken from various cultures and dialects across the African continent. Black-skinned men and women from the English-speaking world were the perfect middlemen to ensure further growth.

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<sup>256</sup> Mungo Park and Isaaco, *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa: In the Year 1805. Together with Other Documents, Official and Private, Relating to the Same Mission. To Which Is Prefixed an Account of the Life of Mr. Park* (London, John Murray, 1815) Accessed July 16, 2019, <https://archive.org/details/journalofmission00park/page/n6>.

#### 4.2.2 Black Skin - The Colonists

The African Institution actively attempted to gain new colonists to continue the colony's growth. To this end, it created auxiliary chapters. The network it developed across the ocean yielded little, but the centrality of such moves to its understanding of future success is shown in the story of one American who did show interest in taking part. The product of three continents surrounding the Atlantic, two by blood and the third by experience, Paul Cuffe was an exceptional man for his time. Born on an island in Massachusetts in 1759 to Ruth Moses, an indigenous woman of the Wampanoag tribe on Martha's Vineyard, his father had been born Kofi to the Ashanti tribe of West Africa, but had been sold into slavery at ten and then freed by his new Quaker master John Slocum, whose last name he took. Orphaned at an early age, Paul and his brothers went to work on the ocean.<sup>257</sup> Having been taken captive by the British for his service to the American side in the revolution, he felt he had the clout to refuse to pay taxes without representation. While his petition was denied in 1780, legislators and newsmen worried that it added pressure on the state to give free men of color the vote that culminated in success in 1783.<sup>258</sup> He steadily built up capital and developed his holdings into a fleet and a shipyard.<sup>259</sup>

In his climb to wealth, Cuffe became an active member of the Prince Hall chapter of Freemasons. He had risen to secretary as the Prince Hall chapter help to foster other chapters across New England. Instrumental to Dr. William Thornton's doomed plan in 1788, they were central to the 1794 plan that had blown up thanks to the tone and message of whites of a wholesale move of all Free People of Color. He and his compatriots were not looking to move

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<sup>257</sup> Sheldon H. Harris, *Paul Cuffe: Black America and the African Return* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).

<sup>258</sup> Paul Cuffe and Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808-1817: A Black Quaker's "Voice from Within the Veil"* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1996) 45-47.

<sup>259</sup> Sheldon H. Harris, *Paul Cuffe: Black America and the African Return* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).

the whole or even a substantial portion of the black population to Africa, even though that was the goal of the white recolonization advocates.<sup>260</sup> After the ending of the slave trade, he and the others started a new group called “The Friends of Sierra Leone” to be the basis of a renewed attempt.<sup>261</sup> Through the abolitionist network of the time, he became involved with James Pemberton, the president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, who put him in touch with the African Institution.<sup>262</sup>

Cuffe dreamed of a network stretching across the Atlantic that united those of African descent. In his vision former Virginia slaves, Jamaican maroons, and indigenous groups in Africa could be a unified front against white power. The Quaker in him thought bringing Christianity to the settlement would create unity. The businessman in him realized the way to help was by creating a free black nation that turned the Atlantic triangle trade backwards.<sup>263</sup> Cuffe saw the opportunity and what he thought was a workable solution. Much as he had become a successful ship captain by finding multiple avenues of profit, he hoped to build on his business acumen, with a little bit of luck.

The African Institution gladly set up an introduction between Captain Cuffe and the governor of the colony. Cuffe’s reputation already reached across the Atlantic and was the perfect example of what the organization wanted to foster. When Cuffe finally went on his first trip to West Africa in 1811, he was stunned by the living situation of the colonists. After dining

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<sup>260</sup> Cécile Révauger and Jon E. Graham, *Black Freemasonry: From Prince Hall to the Giants of Jazz* (Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions, 2016) 34.

<sup>261</sup> See Chapter 3; Hopkins, Samuel, and Edwards Amasa Park. *The Works of Samuel Hopkins ... With a Memoir of His Life and Character*. Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1974 compared to original plea in *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut) 10 May 1788, Page 2.

<sup>262</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 19 Jan 1814, Wed Page 1; Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

<sup>263</sup> Paul Cuffe and Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808-1817: A Black Quaker's "Voice from Within the Veil"* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1996).

and talking with the governor of the beleaguered colony, he came up with an idea.<sup>264</sup> He wrote an article to be distributed in England with the help of members of the African Institution. The piece would call upon the better angels of English investors to once again open their pocketbooks to invest in West Africa. He would pilot a group to open trade between Africa and the western world to stop slavery by creating examples of economic success. As Clarkson and an earlier generation had done, he landed in Liverpool and went across the country to London through the industrial north to raise support. Along the way Cuffe spread his name, the contents of his article, and his position. The backers of the African Institution jumped at the chance to support him in his journey.<sup>265</sup>

Upon his return to the United States, Cuffe worked to gather the support needed for the venture. He used the networks of Masonry and abolition to speak to influential leaders in New York, Pennsylvania, and at home in Massachusetts. The plan that he presented had several interesting points that differed from white desires. His plan was for emigration to be a temporary movement of African Americans, not a permanent move. He had no interest in a large-scale migration, but rather one that was designed to build up and educate Africans on how to develop agricultural and economic infrastructure. He made it clear that this was to be a selective process in which potential migrants would apply with references and skill sets that would help move the colony forward. Cuffe's network reached across religious lines within the African American community, as well as across states. His supporters even included prominent whites who could

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<sup>264</sup> Paul Cuffe and Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808-1817: A Black Quaker's "Voice from Within the Veil"* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1996) 77-85.

<sup>265</sup> Saunders's News-Letter - Tuesday 13 April 1813, Page 2; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 19 Jan 1814, Wed Page 1.

be trusted to have the best interest of the community at heart, like Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the constitution.<sup>266</sup>

The necessary inclusion of Great Britain in the plan meant that no actual migration could occur during the War of 1812. This fact has historically been given pride of place in explaining why Cuffe and his friends failed, but this is slightly misleading. From their perspective, selection of colonists would take time and was necessary for success. Also, many of these men, Cuffe included, had been trying to build a connection to Africa for decades. A few short years of war was just one more opportunity to refine the plan. If the British won, they would be well placed with friends in London. In the meantime, they used the opportunity to approach the United States government for help.<sup>267</sup>

In 1815, the Prince Lodge sent two men and their families, Anthony Survance and Samuel Wilson, to West Africa with Paul Cuffe. For once the migration was an actual return to Africa, as both men were originally born in Africa, albeit neither in Sierra Leone. Survance was from just north in Senegal, while Wilson was a native of Central Africa. Survance, to prove his dedication, said he would pay his own way, ensuring that the organization would pick him.<sup>268</sup> Cuffe then returned to New York, where he received a great deal of attention, presenting proof to the newly established Institute chapter of the reception the men received in Freetown.<sup>269</sup> Later that same year, the leading force behind the movement, Paul Cuffe, fell sick. While he had been pivotal in connecting the powerful African Institute and the Free People of Color in the North, his death did not stop or slow down the activity of the other members.

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<sup>266</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 19 Jan 1814, Wed Page 1.

<sup>267</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle* - Monday 18 April 1814, Front Page; *Sun* (London) - Wednesday 13 April 1814, 3.

<sup>268</sup> Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

<sup>269</sup> "Extract from the Minutes of the New-York African Institution," *Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1816, 2; *Lancaster Intelligencer* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania) June 24, 1816, 3, original story listed as coming from the *Boston Repertory*.

As 1816 dawned, the Sierra Leone colony limped along on a path that would create a multi-cultural society with very little exterior support, only being used by the British when it suited the goal of ending the slave trade and filling in where needed in the economy. As the Institution found it increasingly harder to hold onto control, the colony began to do what had been planned from the beginning: it began to make profits from cash crops. Not the sugar cane or cotton pushed by the English and Paul Cuffe, but spices.<sup>270</sup> Cuffe, on the other hand, died just as the white leadership planned another organization, the American Colonization Society, lending his name in support and never dreaming what would come next.<sup>271</sup>

#### 4.3.1 White Money - The Americans

White American leaders stepped in to try and capitalize on what they thought was a movement within the Free People of Color in the United States to all go “back to Africa.” Even as the minor successes and fabrications of the Sierra Leone Company and then the African Institution received attention across the former colony, white leaders throughout the United States found reasons to support recolonization. In Boston and Pennsylvania, some Quakers held onto the idea as the only way to successfully bring about the end of the system of slavery without overturning their livelihood, but the center of activity was based in the nucleus of American slavery and wealth: Virginia.<sup>272</sup>

It is not accidental that Virginia would send the majority of colonists and take an early lead in creating a separate American colony. As described in previous chapters, Thomas

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<sup>270</sup> Robin Law, ed. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth Century West Africa* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000) 133.

<sup>271</sup> Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

<sup>272</sup> See Appendix D.

Jefferson and other Virginians regularly showed their interest in London's attempt to create a colony over the years. They faced a problem that would grow with time across the country, increasing the demand to end the slave trade and create a West African colony of former slaves. Unlike the Caribbean, Virginia's slaves multiplied at high rates. In the short run, planters found this lucrative. Their wealth and prestige as the deciding state in all matters in the new country were based mainly on their supreme ability to increase their capital through breeding. Not all of this increase came through sexual relations between slaves, but also through masters who took an active part, personified by one of the many early presidents from the state, Thomas Jefferson.<sup>273</sup> The mixing of races as the slave population expanded did not bode well for the future. The sheer disproportionate growth of the population categorized as black brought threats of what had happened on the island of Haiti in the last decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>274</sup> Even as McCormick's reaper helped to spread the expansion of slavery inland, the multitude of young slaves of Virginia peopled the new slave labor camps across Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and beyond.<sup>275</sup>

Following the unnervingly almost successful slave revolt led by Thomas Prosser's slave Gabriel in the summer of 1800 in the capital of the state, Richmond, Governor James Monroe made it a priority to create a colony as a pressure relief valve on the system. This future president owned slaves himself, and would purchase over thirty additional slaves from his fellow Virginians in the coming years. With the backing of the Virginia legislature, Monroe requested the help of the sitting president and fellow Virginia slaveowner, Jefferson. The legislature clearly

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<sup>273</sup> Annette Gordon-Reed, *The Hemings of Monticello: An American Family* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2008) 30-32.

<sup>274</sup> Daniel B. Rood "An International Harvest: The Second Slavery, the Virginia-Brazil Connection and the Development of the McCormick Reaper" in *Slavery's capitalism: a new history of American economic development*, ed. Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016) 88-96.

<sup>275</sup> Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974) 21-200.



stated its wish to be rid of the conspirators in the late rebellion. It also implored the President to find an “asylum” where Blacks might “be sent, or choose to remove.”<sup>276</sup> President Jefferson even went through diplomatic channels to see if the Sierra Leone colony would accept unwanted Virginia slaves in 1801. The reported response was silence.<sup>277</sup>

Historians have repeatedly pointed to the British government’s refusal of Jefferson’s inquiries as evidence of the overall unwillingness of the British to take on additional slaves for their colony.<sup>278</sup> However, those overtures were made to a government barely involved in an embarrassingly failed private venture. With the entrance of the Crown colony in 1807 and the resulting formation of the African Institution, that viewpoint had changed. As discussed above, the Institution had, in fact, tried to recruit African Americans directly, bypassing the upstart government of the former colony. It succeeded in creating several chapters across the northern states. While such chapters did not spread to the South, the bulk of the newspaper reporting on the African Institute came from the Carolinas and Virginia, the very heart of the expansion of slavery during the era.<sup>279</sup> These regions acted as a center for investment in slavery, and the organization interested them for two different reasons. Those in South Carolina were interested in importing more slaves. Stopping the slave trade did not fit into their view of the future. The

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<sup>276</sup> Daniel Preston, “The Practicalities of Emancipation and Colonization” in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* ed. Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 129.

<sup>277</sup> Daniel Preston, “The Practicalities of Emancipation and Colonization” in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* ed. Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 132.

<sup>278</sup> Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004); Douglas Egerton, “Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious’: A New Look at the American Colonization Society,” *Journal of the Early American Republic* 5, no 4 (Winter 1985); Daniel Preston, “The Practicalities of Emancipation and Colonization” in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* ed. Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 132.

<sup>279</sup> Leading the number of papers found reporting on the African Institution between 1807 and 1816 in order of number: *Charleston Courier*, *Virginia Argus*, and *The United States' Gazette for the Country*. While the last was published in Philadelphia, it was widely read in Virginia and Washington D.C., see Chapter Five.

closer to the equator, the more intense the tie of the slave structure to back-breaking work that required replenishment. Investors could not turn their backs on these profits, but investment in one enterprise did not preclude investing in Africa as a possible alternative.

The Virginians, with an excessive labor force that required feeding to protect their investment and to keep revolts at bay, continued to read of this allegedly profitable solution. As the country hurtled out of the disastrous last year of Jefferson's administration thanks to his ban on all international trade, the new president waffled in his thinking of how to protect American wealth and the country, especially his home state, from the tempest brewing in the growing black population. Madison himself in the 1790s had made his support for a colony in West Africa clear: "In all the Southern States of N. America, the laws permit masters, under certain precautions to manumit their slaves. But the continuance of such a permission in some of the States is rendered precarious by the ill effects suffered from freedmen who retain the vices and habits of slaves." Nevertheless, he was clear that while recolonization was the beneficial answer for the recently freed, "In order to render this design eligible as well to the Society as to the Slaves, it would be necessary that a complete incorporation of the latter into the former should result from the act of manumission." Like many who advocated for recolonization at some point in the future, Madison blamed his fellow Americans' racism, not his own.

"It is rendered impossible by the prejudice of the whites, prejudices which proceeding principally from the difference of colour must be considered as permanent and insuperable... If the attempt were made in the neighborhood of the White Settlements, peace would not long be expected to remain between Societies, distinguished by such characteristic marks, and retaining the feelings inspired by their former relation of oppressors & oppressed. The result then is that an experiment for providing such an external establishment for the Blacks as might induce the humanity of Masters, and by degrees both the humanity policy of the Governments, to forward the

abolition of slavery in America, ought to be pursued on the Coast of Africa or in some other foreign situation.<sup>280</sup>

The United States' turn toward imperialism was long considered to have started at the end of the nineteenth century, but scholarship has consistently pushed its origins further and further backwards. The young nation sought to ape its previous colonial overlords by expanding its vision to the west at the expense of the natives and the European powers. Geography became an integral element of the ability of the country to succeed. As Kariann Akemi Yokota states in *Unbecoming British*, "The forecast of the United States' future productivity ... was inspired by a need to insert the new nation into world geography and help it ascend to its proper place within the international community."<sup>281</sup> Under the guise of expanding the values of the Enlightenment that the country espoused, the conquest of new territory was presented as an act of emancipating the said region from its place outside of the sphere of human rights, science, and industry.

While the War of 1812 is usually recorded as an event that helped to hold off cooperation between the Americans and British in West Africa, the import of the war was far greater in bolstering white American leaders' resolve to create Liberia. The fear of slave revolts was a real problem stretching back to the American Revolution, but the invasion of Maryland and Northern Virginia during the war caused slaves to run away and, once again, to join the other side.<sup>282</sup> Neither the Virginia legislature nor the federal government were at that time interested in new stricter laws for runaways, other than those that dealt directly with inciting revolts. They were

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<sup>280</sup> James Madison to William Thornton, 1788 in Randolph, John, Thomas Jefferson, and Leonard L. Mackall. *A Letter from the Virginia Loyalist John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson: Written in London in 1779*. Worcester, MA: Antiquarian Society, 1921)

<sup>281</sup> Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 57.

<sup>282</sup> Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832* (Gene Allen Smith, *The Slaves Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812*)

much more interested in restricting the practice of manumission that would lead to a large free population whose freedom of movement might create untold dangers for the future.

The African plan would rise to the forefront as African Americans also showed interest in the continent, and others opposed the creation of a Black colony on the western edge of the country because, as historian Brandon Mills points out, of the possibility that such a colony would eventually side with native American tribes against the new country.<sup>283</sup> The Georgia-Florida border offered the perfect example of this danger, as generations of runaway slaves had intermixed with Seminole, Cherokee, and Creeks who stood in the way of American economic expansion. The War of 1812 had only heightened the fears of these populations as multiple Native American groups around the nation's periphery joined with the British against their shared enemy, the United States.<sup>284</sup>

Some of the first propaganda of the ACS was geared towards showing the problems with competing programs. In early 1816, US papers had proudly reported the destruction of the "Negro Fort" right across the border in the Spanish territory of Florida. The encampment had housed almost eight hundred people with black skin, only a handful of whom identified as Choctaw or Seminole. Even with the destruction of the settlement, it became clear to the white leadership that left to intermix, Native Americans and African Americans would join in united purpose. Presbyterian Minister Robert Finley, who would become integral to the propaganda campaign for the new colony in West Africa, jumped quickly to point to these problems as the reason that a black colony within the physical reach of the United States would be a disaster.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Brandon Mills, "Situating African Colonization within the History of U.S. Expansion" in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* ed. Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 166-182.

<sup>284</sup> Walter T. K. Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009) 100-134.

<sup>285</sup> Finley, Robert. *Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks*. [Washington, 1816] Accessed at <https://lccn.loc.gov/01000656>.

In August 1816, the *Louisiana Gazette* reprinted the story of Paul Cuffe successfully taking families to Sierra Leone, initially printed in the *Boston Recorder*. It emphasized that the author had seen a letter dated April 4, 1816, from one of the emigrants to friends and benefactors. The piece is careful to repeat the word “good” at regular intervals throughout its twenty lines. The place is represented as “good.” The Governor gave each family a lot of land in the town and 50 acres of “good land” in the country. The author gushed about the abundance of fruits of all kind, and the fields “have plenty of rice and corn, and ‘all other food that is good.’”<sup>286</sup> The land was clearly ripe for more colonists. The problems reported in the records of the colony and its struggle to survive disappear; instead, it is presented as a land of bounty that will provide an excellent opportunity. The author actually states, “the only thing which annoyed them was the immense number of ants,” but even this has a silver lining as the ants “go in bands, and kill all the serpents that fall in their way.”<sup>287</sup> This sales pitch goes on to point out that the “British were bringing in American vessels every week, with the slaves which they were carrying off under the Spanish flag. The slaves were all set free.”<sup>288</sup> The African Institution had no problem supporting its American counterpart, the American Colonization Society. Within two years of the founding of the new group, a select few had already traveled to England to gain support for the organization.<sup>289</sup>

#### 4.4.1 Results

The African Institution and its American chapters, as well as the moderate Virginians in charge of the United States during this era, had to deal with very little vocal opposition to their

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<sup>286</sup> *Louisiana State Gazette* (New Orleans, Louisiana)16 Aug 1816, Fri Page 2.

<sup>287</sup> *Louisiana State Gazette* (New Orleans, Louisiana)07 Aug 1816, Page 2 and 16 Aug 1816, Page 2.

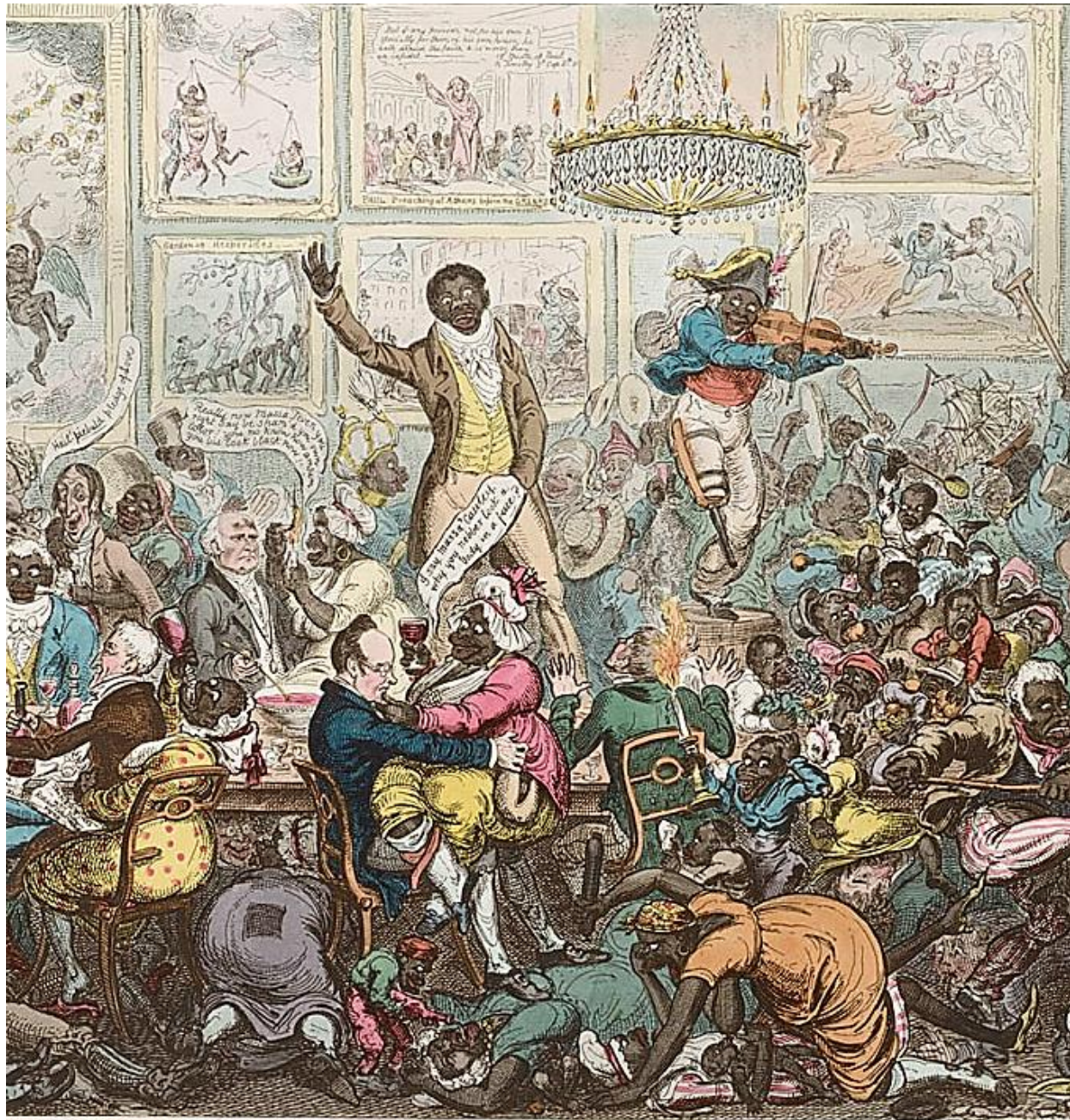
<sup>288</sup> *Louisiana State Gazette* (New Orleans, Louisiana)16 Aug 1816, Page 2.

<sup>289</sup> *Lancaster Intelligencer* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania)30 May 1818, Page 2

plans from the few who believed that a bi-racial society could exist in America and not destroy the economy. Instead, the vociferous opposition came from the other extreme in the form of those who were desperate to hang on to the system of chattel slavery.

In London, the opposition gained ground with the creeping stories of failure of the colony and the general support of the Liverpool-based investors in the Caribbean plantations. With the changing winds brought by the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the desire to return to old forms of “peace,” these lobbies attacked the African Institution for allegedly attempting to incorporate black-skinned individuals into the empire. One of the most famous caricature artists of the time, George Cruikshank, personified their fears in his work called *The New Union Club* in 1819. In the image, the leaders of the African Institution are seen cavorting in every type of debauchery with black women, while the black men tear the common man to shreds. The “new union” was not a reference to the Institution’s newness, as the organization had been front and center in newspapers for the previous decade. It was a reference to the fears of miscegenation that at this time still caused great fear in the general public, even in London.





**The NEW UNION-CLUB.**

ook place at a celebrated Dinner, given by a celebrated Society. — Vide Mr. M. C.'s Pamphlet

Figure 16 Detail from George Cruikshank and George Humphrey, *The New Union Club, Being a Representation of What Took Place at a Celebrated Dinner, given by a Celebrated - Society* (July 19, 1819) Courtesy of the United Kingdom National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London. Accessed July 15, 2019, at <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/255159>

Such talk of miscegenation and incorporating free Blacks into society was not even whispered in newspapers in the southern United States. Instead, the planters and traders of the

expanding American South worked against the Institution in other ways, and the Virginia dynasty made a mad dash to import a record number of slaves during this time. Chattel slavery was the way for white men of the era to make their fortunes and take their part in the promises of the US Constitution. They had no use for such ideas of taking away the slave labor force and would solidify the hold their system had on the region. Thwarted in earlier plans for a new colony, the well-established wealthy of Virginia sought in every way to free themselves of the dangerous system, both selling slaves west and advocating for a new colony operated by themselves with help from the government coffers they controlled.

The ending of the slave trade became a lucrative foundation for Sierra Leone. Capitalism's role in the ending of slavery has been hotly contested, based on different readings of this period. Beginning with Eric Williams, one school of thought understands that while the slave economy did get stronger following the ending of the slave trade, the perspective of contemporary people was not concerned with the dangers of slavery, indicating that economic expansion led the transition not humanitarian ideals.<sup>290</sup> While routinely questioned and nuanced by other scholars, the Sierra Leone propaganda coupled with other developments highlights the disparity between what the numbers show in historical context and the perception of the international investors of the era.<sup>291</sup> Their main interest was in the idea of resettling any individuals with black skin to the jungles of West Africa. The propaganda put out by the project's adherents expanded into more and more parts of the English-speaking world, with each publication reflecting the needs of the author and his readership.

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<sup>290</sup> Williams - Pathways guy - intro

<sup>291</sup> Anthony E. Kaye, "Nationalism and Abolitionist Politics in Great Britain and the United States." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*35, no. 2 (2012): 135-67. [www.jstor.org/stable/43551698](http://www.jstor.org/stable/43551698).



Chapter 5

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR  
OF THE UNITED STATES 1816 - 1831

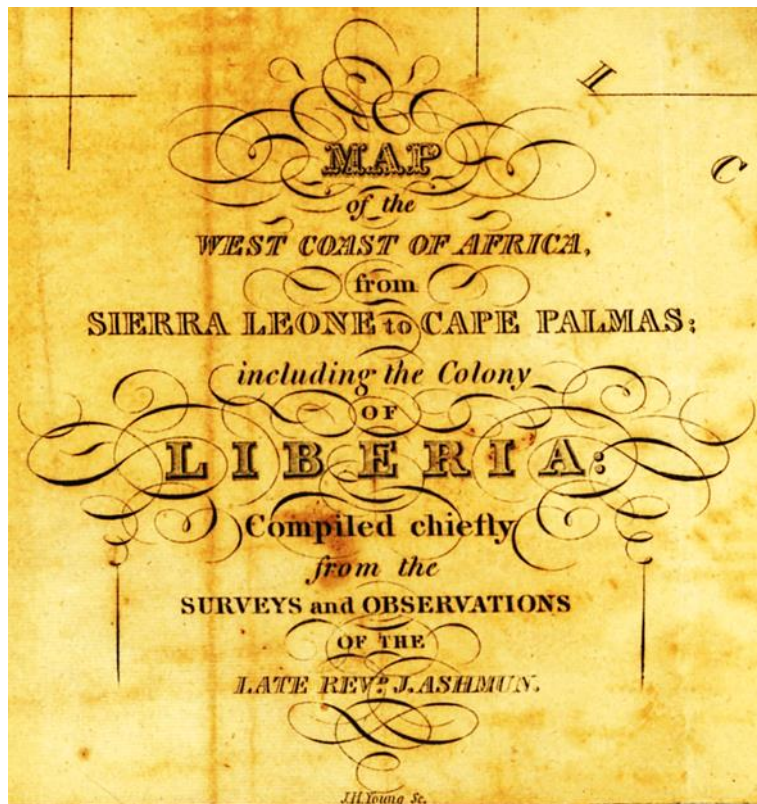


Figure 17 – J. Ashmun, J. H. Young, and A. Finley, *Map of the West Coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, including the colony of Liberia*. [Philadelphia Pa.: A. Finley, 1830] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/96680499/>.

The 1820 census recorded the population of free African American men over the age of fourteen at a little over nine thousand in the state of Pennsylvania.<sup>292</sup> On January 15, 1817, black leaders James Forten, Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and Robert Douglas met in Philadelphia with 3,000 other free men. This meeting, held at the Bethel Church, convened to decide whether to support the colonization movement. Despite the fact that only the year before some of their same number had funded the movement of other African Americans to West Africa, the vote was unanimous in denouncing the new American colonizing society. The meeting leaders' public pronouncement of the proceedings made it clear that they thought that a white-led organization to remove African Americans "would stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery."<sup>293</sup> In effect, this dissertation argues that this view was not entirely correct—abolition needed colonization to become palatable to whites. But Blacks in turn needed colonization to fail to have any chance of post-Emancipation autonomy.

That summer, African American and Quaker protesters met again in Philadelphia. There they decreed, "We will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country." They called colonization a plan to dump free Negroes "into the savage wilds of Africa" and a "circuitous route" to black bondage. Feelings ran high, but the constant advertising of the ACS drowned out their protest.<sup>294</sup> James Forten articulated the African community's frustrations with the ACS in *An Address to the Humane and Benevolent Inhabitants of the City and County of Philadelphia*. This work, published and distributed throughout the city, came from remarks made by Forten during a protest. He argued that newly emancipated slaves would be unable to

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<sup>292</sup> U. S. Census Bureau 1820, 18.

<sup>293</sup> James Forten and Russel Perrott, "An Address to the Humane and Benevolent Inhabitants of the City and County of Philadelphia" found in *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Special Meeting of the Fifteenth American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race: Assembled At Philadelphia, On the Tenth Day of December, 1818, and Continued By Adjournments Until the Fifteenth of the Same Month, Inclusive*. (Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Convention, by Hall & Atkinson, 53, Market-Street., 1818).

<sup>294</sup> The United States Gazette (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 16 Aug 1817, Sat. Front Page thru page 4.

gain religious or civil instruction if recolonized. He went on to say that their removal would raise the price of slaves to such exorbitant amounts that slaves would become too valuable to manumit. Although joined by other groups in Boston and Virginia that held the same concerns, their voices were ignored as white elites untied across political and religious lines to support this new American attempt to find a profitable way out of slavery.

### 5.1.1 Historiography

The historiography of the ACS often obscures the success of the African American community. Early twentieth-century accounts considered the ACS an anti-slavery society seeking to uplift African Americans as a separate race going “back to Africa” to civilize those not fortunate enough to have been sold into slavery. Even the fraudulent purchase of the land for Liberia from native tribes under duress was presented in a paternalistic cast.<sup>295</sup> Since then, historians have grappled with where the organization stood in the story of the fight for abolition.<sup>296</sup> Both Quakers and slave owners contributed to the ACS, therefore one cannot neatly put the organization into the pro- or anti-slavery category.

The underlying truth was that colonization acted as a middle solution that stemmed from white desires to segregate the African American community for fear of revolts and inter-racial sexual relations. Colonizing was the desperate answer to assuage these fears. Southern planter aristocracy and northern businessmen saw it as a solution that promised to increase the trading centers of the new republic. This generation of American leaders constantly bankrolled

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<sup>295</sup> Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840* (John Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, 1918) 3-9.

<sup>296</sup> Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005); Claude A. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

expansionist ideas that would increase their access to goods and markets. What made this experiment unique was that new opportunities could be created by a group that in their minds belonged by the color of their skin in the new locale. Many also hoped that by syphoning enough of the black population away plantations could increase their investment by transforming into multiple rented farms, the precursor to sharecropping.

Free African Americans' interest in West African networks acted as a foundation, but with whites' assumption of leadership, all chances of a separate, profitable system for African American business diminished. Instead they were replaced by familiar problems of racism. The majority of African Americans of the era believed such a plan would not lead to the needed breaking point to end the system of slavery.<sup>297</sup> Most historiography considers the ACS a bad idea that only a small part of the population supported. However, a constant barrage of stories about the organization and a series of chapters quickly popping up across the northern half of the country influenced the public sphere. The undoing of the organization's early push was not a lack of support from whites, but the unified stance against the organization that African Americans took.

### 5.2.1 White Money – The Americans

Elected amid the War of 1812, the Fourteenth Congress represented a full embrace of the next chapter in the formation of the republic. Meeting in a temporary red brick capital constructed over the former Davis Hotel on the present site of the Supreme Court, its members

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<sup>297</sup> Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840* (John Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, 1918) 3-9; Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005) 1-5; Claude A. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 9; P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Octagon Books, 1980).

sought to remake a country that had finally found its footing as an independent nation.<sup>298</sup> Yet the former colonies of Great Britain looked to the British for perspective on expansion, despite proving once again that they could survive separately. They passed a bill authorizing a Hamiltonian-style bank insured by the government for twenty years; the first tariff bill to protect manufacturing from competition from Great Britain and other nations; and multiple other measures they viewed as modern forming a place on the world stage for the country.<sup>299</sup> Three nights after Christmas of 1816, the House chamber was filled with the leaders of the political world and citizens of neighboring cities to create one more component of the road to economic success: a new American colony for Free People of Color.<sup>300</sup>

At thirty-nine, Henry Clay (Fig. 16) was a central character in national politics. His gift for speech craft created the War of 1812, and he single-handedly introduced the temporary insanity plea into the American legal system, enriching himself personally along the way. An avid gambler, Clay won several of his properties in games, including some of his fifty-eight slaves. As a consummate gambler, Clay knew the safe bet was the middle path. His orations were effective at gaining him popularity because he always advocated the cause

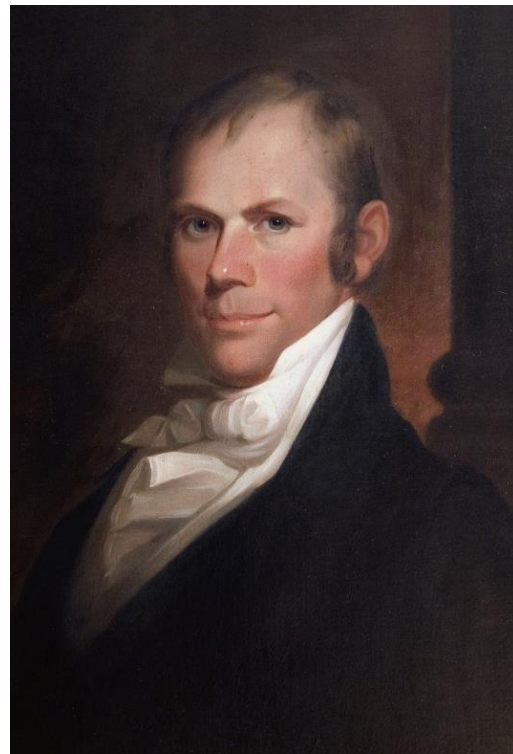


Figure 18 Matthew Harris Jouett, *Henry Clay*, 1818 Oil Transylvania University.

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<sup>298</sup> Harold H. Burton and Thomas E. Waggaman, "The Story of the Place: Where First and A Streets Formerly Met at What Is Now the Site of the Supreme Court Building" *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, vol. 51/52.

<sup>299</sup> Remini, Robert V. 1991. *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union*. W.W. Norton and Co. New York.

<sup>300</sup> Lancaster Intelligencer and Journal, January 11, 1817 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania)

that he believed would draw the most support.<sup>301</sup> Clay was the youngest speaker of the house and in this role he advocated his vision for a modern America, which included, from the outset, recolonization.<sup>302</sup>

Although many overlook Henry Clay's part in the society's founding, his presence holds the key to understanding the breadth of the movement's support. On that cold December night in Washington D.C. in 1816, Clay orchestrated a meeting that allowed the organization to start with powerful backers. This first meeting included a list of America's early leaders. The sitting President who Clay hoped to gain a cabinet position from, James Monroe, attended, bringing with him investors from that inundated his administration and business. Daniel Webster represented the more moderate New Englanders at the meeting, while the former slave trader and recent war hero Andrew Jackson acted as his opposite. The organization's vice presidents were comprised of leaders who represented different factions and sections of the country, such as Webster and Jackson, in an effort to create harmony.<sup>303</sup> This meeting ranked as one of the most successful in joining the extreme factions of the day, solidifying Henry Clay's moniker, "The Great Compromiser."

Recolonization was one piece of Henry Clay's "American System." In retrospect, only the successful parts of Clay's vision are remembered. It laid the foundation of internal improvements that helped both his personal fortune and the national economy. These ambitious plans changed the way America and the world transported goods. Ships no longer were required to circle Florida and the Gulf of Mexico to reach the Mississippi River valley from the East Coast. Up until that point the only other option was to pay excessive tolls on privately funded

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<sup>301</sup> Harlow G. Unger, *Henry Clay: America's Greatest Statesman* (Boston: Da Capo, 2015) 8,20.

<sup>302</sup> Nicholas Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation* (New York: Basic Books, 2016) 266-271.

<sup>303</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)16 Aug 1817, Sat. Front Page.

trails that stretched across the Appalachian Mountains. Under his tutelage, the nation created a publicly funded system of roads, and his Kentucky slave labor camps increased his profits as they multiplied through natural progress.<sup>304</sup>

Furthermore, under Clay's American System, congress passed punishing 20 to 25 percent tariffs on all European goods in 1816 to curb American buying of European products in favor of American goods. Investment from the newly established Second Bank of the United States drove American production by providing a base guarantee in federal money for credit. Headquartered in Philadelphia, the new bank acted as the starting point of westward expansion into Ohio, Kentucky, and beyond during the early republic. This system became the basis of the emerging Whig Party by the end of the decade; however, the reign of the "Era of Good Feelings" in the 1820s caused parties to temporarily disappear. This led to Monroe's victorious reelection campaign in 1820 with almost universal support.

The system sought to increase European immigration to propagate the nation's expansion. The juxtaposition of a nation trying to increase immigration from Europe and emigration to Africa simultaneously has been questioned by leading historians.<sup>305</sup> This juxtaposition also raises questions about organization's leaders' intentions for internal improvements and increasing migration, despite backing an organization that intended to remove the existing workforce. The answer comes in looking at the earliest mentions of the organization's name. It was titled "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color" before its name morphed into the American Colonizing Society.<sup>306</sup> As Henry Clay and others thought up a grand scheme to develop a European society on the lands of the Native

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<sup>304</sup> Harlow G. Unger, *Henry Clay: America's Greatest Statesman* (Boston: Da Capo, 2015).

<sup>305</sup> Eric Foner, "Nicholas Guyatt's 'Bind Us Apart'" in *The New York Times*, April 29, 2016. Accessed at <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/01/books/review/nicholas-guyatts-bind-us-apart.html>.

<sup>306</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 16 Aug 1817, Front Page; *African Repository* IV.

Americans, they did not see anything but problems stemming from intermixing into this free society those of black skin. As discussed in the previous chapter, the slave population in the American South was growing along with the fledgling nation. Although Northern Quakers and others professed to not see slavery as good, nor did they have a low opinion of the intellect of Blacks, they did see them as an obstacle to the harmonious development of the nation.<sup>307</sup> They assumed that a colony in West Africa would be beneficial for taking care of the problem. Moreover, the newspaper reports of Paul Cuffe and the African Association only served to reinforce their thoughts.

During a formative meeting, Clay allayed the fears of slave masters who were concerned that colonization might be misconstrued as abolition. He assured the slave owners that colonization was for "free Negroes," not slaves.<sup>308</sup> John Randolph, another founding member, promised that colonization would protect slave property by removing the free Blacks, the "promoters of mischief" and the "depositories of stolen goods."<sup>309</sup> The southern members of the American Colonization Society were following the words of Thomas Jefferson, a man they idolized. On the subject of colonizing free African Americans in Africa, Jefferson said: "As soon as the mind emerges, in contemplating the subject... vast and interesting objects present themselves to view. It is impossible not to revolve in it, the condition of those people, the embarrassment they have already occasioned us, and are still likely to subject us to."<sup>310</sup> The southern slave owners looked for an answer that eased their conscience while not hampering the continuation of the system that made them wealthy. Jefferson provided intellectual cover that

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<sup>307</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 16 Aug 1817, page 3.

<sup>308</sup> Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement*, 28.

<sup>309</sup> Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement*, 29.

<sup>310</sup> Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, June 15, 1801, from Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe Correspondence, Transcribed and Edited by Gerard W. Gawalt, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress [http://www.loc.gov/resource/mtj1.023\\_1084\\_1089](http://www.loc.gov/resource/mtj1.023_1084_1089)



also attracted many Quakers. Both groups followed Jefferson in believing that they would transmit the significant accomplishments of the United States in culture, science, and politics to Africa through recolonization. They also thought it was necessary to found and govern the new colony, as African Americans would be unable to “correctly” enjoy freedom and independence. Although they sought government support for their plans under the leadership of President Monroe, they did not want the government to take over the project. The Quaker faction argued against mandatory deportation, and merely in favor of an option for African Americans “to return” to a mythical Africa.<sup>311</sup>

In retrospect, it is easy to see their plan as an expensive folly, but they instead saw it as a reputable solution to avoid a bi-racial society and to spread the economic influence of the new nation at the same time. As one opinion letter published in a Philadelphia newspaper argued, the move was a pragmatic one in keeping with the ideas of American expansion:

We all know the influence of settling a new country, and of building new towns, and of improving the trade and agriculture of places before settled. In Africa, even at twenty cents an acre, what would be its rise, and what the additional effect, of establishing a commercial city, and a trade with the interior? Such a colony would increase from its attractions to foreigners and natives, and from its increase of business and industry... the whole expense, after making all proper deductions, will cost the publick more than from one to two million of dollars – and who would say that such a sum, or even a greater, should prevent the accomplishment of an object so great and useful?<sup>312</sup>

The organization’s members and others echoed such opinions in newspaper pieces. The estimated cost fluctuated, with the organizers giving a slightly higher price tag of \$4 million total.<sup>313</sup> Even at the first meeting of the Pennsylvania colonization society, after an attendee did a

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<sup>311</sup> Allan Yarema, *The American Colonization Society: The Avenue to Freedom?* (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 2006) 4-13.

<sup>312</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) 16 Aug 1817, Sat. Front Page.

<sup>313</sup> *Lancaster Intelligencer* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania) 11 Jan 1817, Sat. Page 2.

more expansive accounting and came up with a total figure of \$4,797,500 for shipping 15,000 African Americans in one year, the group pushed on to create a chapter.

With the gatherings in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Washington, the foundations of the ACS began to take shape. Even though the organization was a private enterprise financed by shareholders, its first and second trips to lay the groundwork for the colony were paid for by the United States government. President Monroe, who, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was a longtime supporter of recolonization, arranged for a third of the appropriations by Congress for resettlement of those captured from slave traders be used by the ACS.<sup>314</sup> In 1820 the first eleven colonists went with the founding organizers to settle in Sierra Leone, followed by twenty-six the following year. Only two of the first two groups were captives from the slave trade. The other thirty-five all came from the hills around Monroe's home in Western Virginia. Free families of Virginia would make up the bulk of the 756 additional colonists who would go over the next decade. Out of these, only two hundred would be left in 1831.<sup>315</sup> The Organization had the same problem as England before it. The droves of free Blacks they always expected to go, instead refuse to move.

### 5.2.2 White Money – Philadelphia

As the organization's attempt failed to create the wholesale movement of free, northern African Americans to West Africa, its propaganda campaign was bolstered with a map whose reach would outlive this first swell of support and create a vision of Liberia that would stand in juxtaposition to the realities of the colony. It was by no accident that the mapmaker was Anthony

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<sup>314</sup> David F. Ericson, "The American Colonization Society's Not-So-Private Colonization Project," in Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 113-114.

<sup>315</sup> *The African Repository*, Records of the American Colonization Society. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Finely of Philadelphia, mentioned in the prologue. The Quakers and Southerners who came together in this common cause did so through an understanding of emancipation through conquest, a geopolitical context for which Anthony Finley provided in his map of Liberia. Commercial American cartographers built upon the techniques and cues of their European counterparts to create a geographic representation that lit the path for expansion. Anthony Finley was one such map publisher who built on his self-identification as an enlightened thinker, much like Clay, to help push the imagined boundaries of the United States' sphere of influence and the possibilities for the future.

The connections that would cause Finley to be the first maker of a map of Liberia were also the reason for his connection to westward expansion. During the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia was an important port, as well as the starting point for trade and colonists going westward, ideally positioned for selling maps. When Finley began publishing maps in 1824, he stepped into a strong and growing market in the city. His involvement with the elite of the city probably led to his venture into cartography. An avid businessman, he involved himself in trade but only if he could see it as lucrative. For decades, expeditions to the Mississippi River Valley and further west began in Philadelphia. During the period, Philadelphia was home to the Bank of the United States, which served as the main creditor for ventures and land speculation. The fact that Finley's shop stood across the street from the bank allowed him to be among the first to know of new ventures. His shop served as a great spot to get all types of knowledge that investors needed to prove and promote the soundness of their plans.<sup>316</sup> His stance as an

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<sup>316</sup> Billy G. Smith, "Philadelphia: The Athens of America" in *Life in Early Philadelphia: Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods* Billy G. Smith ed. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995) 3-6, 16, 48.

enlightened and scientifically minded gentleman within Philadelphia's business and social worlds made him a perfect fit to publish the map for the expansion into West Africa.

Some of his competitors in the business were also involved in mapping the West. In 1816, John Melish published his *Map of the United States with the contiguous British and Spanish possessions* (Fig. 3), considered the first map to portray the United States extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>317</sup> Melish drew the northern border of the nation much as it would later become, across the Rockies at 49 degrees. As if to reinforce the lines now drawn by Melish, the Russian government signed treaties with both the United States and Great Britain in 1824, ceding any rights to the land south of present-day Alaska. Henry S. Tanner, Finley's main competitor, took the opportunity to draw maps that showed the British holdings ending at the Rockies, with the color-coding for Russian and American holdings only slightly different in shading. He set the new line at the 51<sup>st</sup> degree (Fig. 4). Later that same year, Finley produced his first atlas, the format and name of which followed Tanner's closely (Fig. 5). By 1826, American territory stretched on his map to a spot that later became a rallying cry for war with Britain during the climax of Manifest Destiny in the 1840s – "54, 40 or fight."<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>317</sup> *Map of the United States with the contiguous British & Spanish Possessions Compiled from the latest & best Authorities* by John Melish. Engraved by J. Vallance & H.S. Tanner. (6 June 1816). <http://www.davidrumsey.com> (Accessed February 21, 2016).

<sup>318</sup> *A Map of North America, Constructed According To The Latest Information* by H.S. Tanner. Improved to 1825. (with) Western Part of the Aleutian Islands. (with) Comparative Altitudes of The Mountains, Towns &c. Of North America. American Atlas. Entered ... 27th day of May 1822, by H.S. Tanner ... Pennsylvania. Printed by Wm. Duffee. Engraved & Published by H.S. Tanner, Philadelphia, 1822 (1825); *Map of North America Including All the Recent Geographical Discoveries*. 1826. Drawn by D.H. Vance. Engraved by J.H. Young. Published by A. Finley (Philadelphia, 1826).



Figure 19 Map of the United States with the contiguous British & Spanish Possessions Compiled from the latest & best Authorities by John Melish. Engraved by J. Vallance & H.S. Tanner. (June 6, 1826). <http://www.davidrumsey.com> (Accessed February 21, 2016).

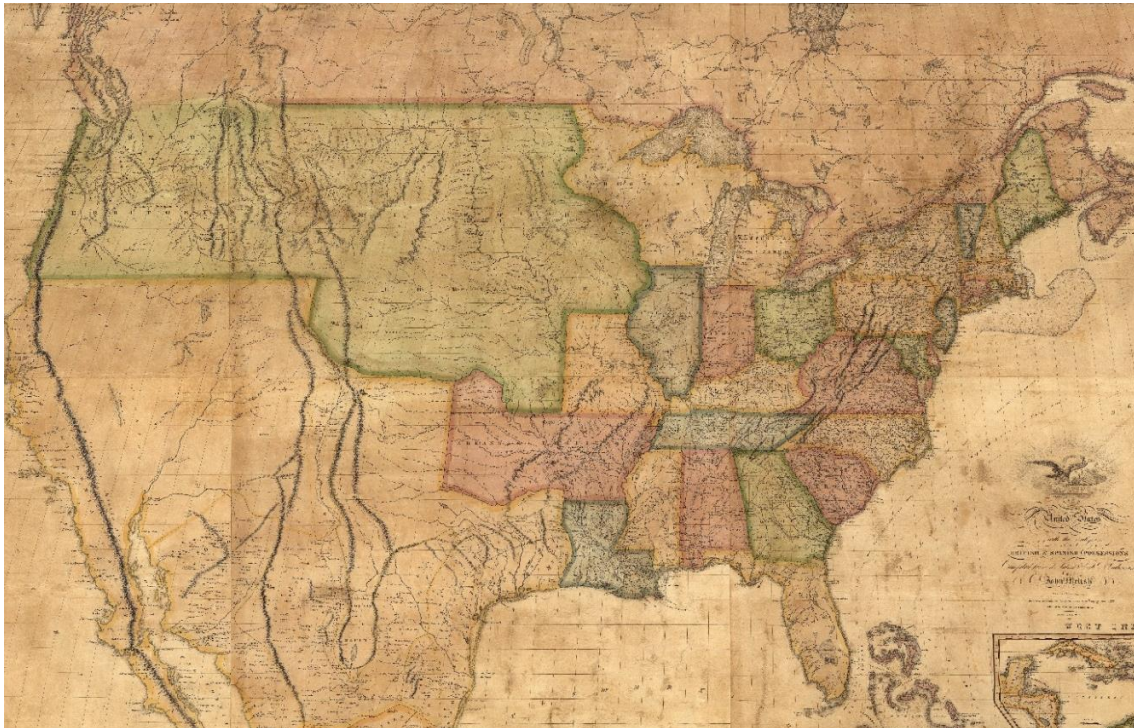


Figure 20 A Map of North America, Constructed According To The Latest Information by H.S. Tanner. Improved to 1825. (with) Western Part of the Aleutian Islands. (with) Comparative Altitudes of The Mountains, Towns &c. Of North America. American Atlas. Entered ... 27th day of May 1822, by H.S. Tanner ... Pennsylvania. Printed by Wm. Duffee. Engraved & Published by H.S. Tanner, Philadelphia, 1822 (1825) accessed at. <http://www.davidrumsey.com>;





Figure 21 Map of North America Including All The Recent Geographical Discoveries. 1826. Drawn by D.H. Vance. Engraved by J.H. Young. Published by A. Finley (Philadelphia, 1826). Accessed at: <http://www.davidrumsey.com>

In 1818 and again in 1827 the government of the two countries agreed to joint ownership of the region (controlled in reality by the various Native American tribes) with a small contingent of the British set up for trade in the form of the Hudson Bay Company. By the election of 1844, this had changed as settlers and American fur interests began to migrate to Oregon, the southern part of the region. Among other calls of Manifest Destiny, this slogan entered the campaign as a desire to settle the political territory in the hands of the United States. The fur companies, missionaries, and settlers all found reassurance of their right to inhabit the territory from the geographical interpretation of the region. These interpretations represented the territories not as jointly owned, but as the property of the United States, as visible in an increasing number of maps and atlases. Finley led the vanguard with his bold coloration in green of the United States stretching up to the 54 degrees. Locations fill the region as if it were a growing concern instead of a wilderness controlled by the natives.<sup>319</sup>

The place names throughout the area continued to be those based on British terms, mixed with other uniquely Americanized names that combined native languages and English, such as Oregon. In a way that mimics the ACS's previous attempt to recolonize, Finley used the British as a prototype for his mapmaking. The sphere of influence for his work after all was the investors of the English-speaking United States who understood the representations of lines and figures on maps based on the language of the British empire as much as their alphabet. Finley, as a second-generation American with roots within the British Empire, held the same thoughts of any post-colonial subject. To stand on its own, the United States had to take the language and culture of its former ruler in creating its imagined community. The hybridization of place names such as

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<sup>319</sup> David Stephen Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler *Manifest Destiny* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2003) 56; Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2010) 127-129.

Oregon itself reflected this tendency. Although Finley colored the whole of the Northwest Pacific territory from the Rockies as the United States, he had no problem boldly using terms for different portions first laid by the British. One example was his use of the term New Caledonia, a Scottish place name, from the region between the 51<sup>st</sup> degree and the 54<sup>th</sup> degree. As a descendant of Presbyterian Scots, the term appealed to his pride in his roots as much as anything else.<sup>320</sup>

In his first editions of the map, Finley listed present-day California as New California, much like his competitors. However, beginning in 1830 he began to replace the term with New Albion. The region was part of the Spanish-speaking world and governed by Mexico. Finley's competitor Tanner used the term New Albion to signify the upper region of the territory around present-day San Francisco in 1833, but Finley used the term throughout his representations, using California only for the peninsula well below the present-day Mexican border. This term reached back in the record to old British maps of the Pacific Coast after the region was claimed by Sir Francis Drake in 1579. Finley and other cartographers of the early nineteenth century even refer to San Francisco Bay as the Bay of S.F. Drake. If taken as another example of Finley appropriating English place names for American use, the change in wording may reflect a future move to emancipate this territory by conquest.<sup>321</sup>

Through Finley's map of North America, the geopolitical landscape of both Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine is discernable. The government of the United States already proclaimed the nation's right to intervene in order to self-emancipate territory from European

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<sup>320</sup> Yokota, *Unbecoming British*, 3-12; *A Map of North America*, Anthony Finley (1827).

<sup>321</sup> Anthony Finley, *A new general atlas, comprising a complete set of maps, representing the grand divisions of the globe, together with the several empires, kingdoms and states in the world; compiled from the best authorities and corrected by the most recent discoveries*, 1830. University of Texas at Arlington; Helen Wallis, "The Cartography of Drake's Voyage" in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth*, Norman J. Thrower, ed. (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1984) 157-159.



imperial powers, as outlined in the 1823 Monroe Doctrine. Finley presented geographical “proof” that the northern territory of the young and volatile neighboring Mexico was America’s for the taking by including references to British roots and marking the vast region as unexplored. Although there were fears of British encroachment along the Pacific coast, the fluidity of British titles did not signal a British takeover of the territory. Whether the United States could handle a third war with Britain was another matter, but as cartographers laid claims and avenues for future expansion while migration increased from Europe, a feeling of destiny that was the backbone of the Monroe Doctrine pervaded the nation building of the era.

Cartographer Anthony Finley took the simple measurements and comments of Reverend Ashmun, who had recently returned to America, and wove a beautifully detailed map that depicted a prosperous colony ready for growth (Fig. 6). The cartouche of the map is replete with excessive scrolls and curling interwoven in relief of the title, *Map of the West Coast Of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas: including the Colony Of Liberia: Compiled chiefly from the Surveys and Observations Of The Late Revd. J. Ashmun*. Even as late as 1831, cartographers sometimes embellished their maps with elaborate cartouches; while every other available map of Finley’s is designed with austere cartouches that befitted the man of science he presented to the world, in this instance, Finley and the engravers, J.H. Young & Co., designed the cartouche in this manner to signify the importance of the undertaking. This was the first “colony” of the United States; but it was a conquest driven by the ideas of human rights and industrialization.

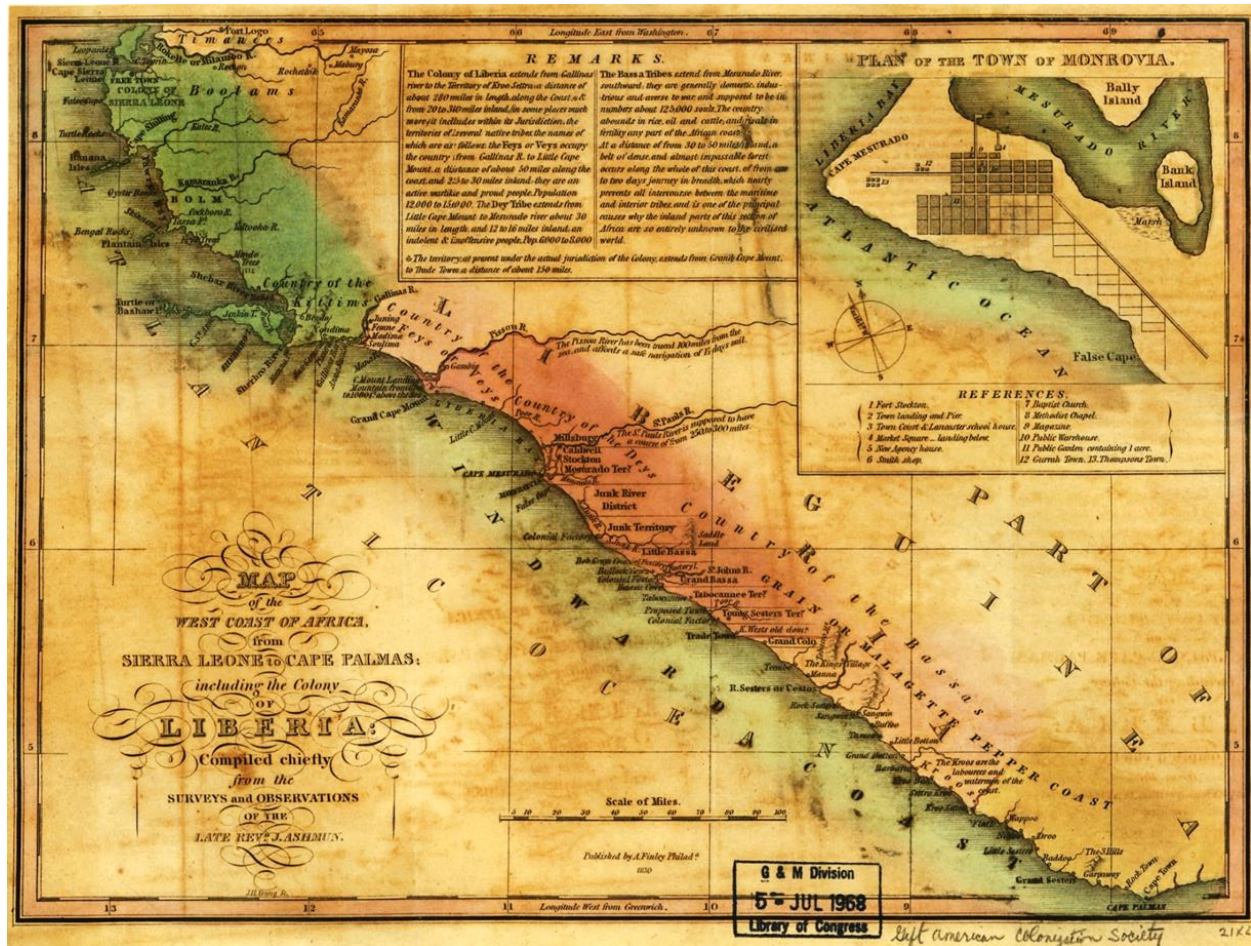


Figure 22 J Ashmun, J. H Young, and A Finley, Map of the West Coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, including the colony of Liberia. [Philadelphia Pa.: A. Finley, 1830] Map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/96680499/>.

The possible financial gains for investors and traders in the new colony are highlighted across the map. An inset at the top center even stipulates, “the country abounds in rice, oil, and cattle; and rivals in fertility any part of the African Coast.”<sup>322</sup> The oil he refers to here would have been palm oil, used for cooking since time immemorable, but as a lubricant for industrialized machinery it also captured a growing overseas market. Both rice and cattle were products used voraciously by Americans then as now. Even as Americans expanded their rice economy, still more was needed at home and abroad.<sup>323</sup> The rivers and creeks shown throughout the Liberian coast spoke of accessibility and therefore the agricultural possibilities of the colony. The estimates of navigability of the major rivers are stated overzealously throughout the map. A hint of the problem to be had with relying too heavily on such a map can be seen in the note accompanying the St. Paul’s River. The river “is supposed to have a course of from 250 to 300 miles.”<sup>324</sup> As seen on other maps by Finley, he is abreast of the cartographical problem European explorers, missionaries, and financiers were grappling with at the time, but he willingly walks the thin line between represented knowledge and figments of the imagination.

It took thirteen years of reprints in *The African Repository* for Ashmun and the editors to include a detailed description of the land’s possibilities. They also presented a picture of the colony as more substantial than it was in reality. Finley does not disappoint the viewer, as he provides a plethora of portages along the coast and creeping inland towards locations with pleasing American place names like Millsburg or Caldwell. To reinforce the growth of the colony Finley included within the wealth of place names one towards the center of the map

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<sup>322</sup> Anthony Finley, *Map of the West Coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas: including the Colony Of Liberia: Compiled chiefly from the Surveys and Observations Of The Late Revd. J. Ashmun*, 1831. Philadelphia, A. Finley. <http://www.davidrumsey.com> (Accessed February 21, 2016).

<sup>323</sup> Aghalino, “British Colonial Policies and the Oil-Palm industry in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, 1900-1960” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 46(3), 51 (1998).

<sup>324</sup> Finley, *Map of the West Coast of Africa*, 1831.

labeled only ‘Proposed Town’ to tempt possible investors or colonists. The host of ports with African names prefigures the opportunities of trade much as these same investors looked at the distant Native American tribes on their own continent. If natives of Africa or America could not see the error of their ancient traditions and existing lifestyle, they too could be forced from their land. This attitude matches neatly with the American ideal of progress above all else.<sup>325</sup>

Emancipation through conquest only needed to work with native populations as far as they were willing to assimilate to Western conventions and technology.

An enlarged plan of the colony’s capital, Monrovia, dominates the upper right-hand corner of the map. The city’s name came from the former President of the United States James Monroe, an early benefactor of the colony. As with the United States’ own capital, Washington, the city shared a name with an authority figure from the young country’s recent past. The plans of both cities look substantial and reinforce the rules of geography as they relate to providing the audience with an image of strength and longevity. Each city’s position at the terminus of a major river outlet to the Atlantic provides visions of their potential as central nodes of a trade network, with large swaths of space to be filled by further development. Finley gives a numerical legend that highlights the different commercial, governmental, and religious features within Monrovia. Such features add to the ability to relate the image to a reality of any number of American towns, which allowed a shared imagined community to grow in the viewer’s mind.<sup>326</sup>

Finley’s love of coloration for political borders highlights one noticeable problem with Liberia. Unlike his other maps, there is no established boundary on the landside of the colony. In fact, the word Liberia is laid as an arc that at one point intersects with the words “Part of

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<sup>325</sup> Gurley, Ralph Randolph. *The African Repository, and Colonial Journal*, Vol. VII. (Georgetown D.C.: James Dunn, 1833) 74.

<sup>326</sup> Finley, *Map of the West Coast of Africa*, 1831.

Guinea,” suggesting that the boundaries are contestable. In considering this, two things should be understood about Americans at that time. The first is that the majority of them lived under a colonial government that did not define the western boundaries of settlement. Thus, if the new United States’ fluid western borders changed from one map to another, the lack of a line only spoke of possibilities similar to those that they previously knew. The other point Finley hints at in the text inset within the map:

At a distance of from 30 to 50 miles inland a belt of dense and almost impassable forest occurs along the whole of this coast, of from one to two days journey in breadth which nearly prevents all intercourse between the maritime and interior tribes, and is one of the principal causes why the inland parts of this section of Africa are so entirely unknown to the civilized world<sup>327</sup>

While this text refers to the lack of any knowledge regarding the interior of the continent, it reinforces the idea that settlements would be moderately safe from the natives.

### 5.2.3 White Money – London

Beginning in 1817, the ACS's leaders reached out to Sierra Leone's British sponsors, some of whom worked with Cuffe, for advice and guidance on the ACS's nascent emigration plan.<sup>328</sup> The ACS’s stated objective was essentially the same as that of the Sierra Leone settlement: to help free Blacks forge a better life in Africa. The northern faction of ACS's leaders also hoped to undermine slavery by encouraging slave emancipations. By facilitating the expatriation of emancipated slaves, they hoped to diminish slaveholder concerns about the negative effects ex-slaves would have on American society. At various points during the late 1810s and 1820s, the ACS put the idea of black emigration before Congress in an attempt to gain

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<sup>327</sup> Finley, *Map of the West Coast of Africa*, 1831

<sup>328</sup> “Excerpts from Three Letters from Ebenezer Burgess and Samuel Mills in London to the American Colonization Society” (1817-1818) and “Sketch of Sierra Leone” (1818).

financial and legislative support. In general, Congress expressed an unwillingness to sponsor the ACS beyond utilizing it as a mechanism for expatriating slaves who were emancipated as part of the United States' enforcement efforts against the international slave trade.

Still, the London papers did not find it newsworthy to mention the American colony until 1823.<sup>329</sup> Prior to the early 1830s, when opposition to the ACS exploded, moderate amounts of support also came from European countries outside of Great Britain. By 1832, as the empire centered more on the Indian Ocean, the colony in Sierra Leone was sending out the much hoped-for cash crops as well as being the release valve the whites wanted.<sup>330</sup>

### 5.3.1 Black Skin – The Colonists

From the first ship of colonists in 1820, newspapers spoke of the great things promised by the colony's creation. With the second group heading to Liberia, the society publicized the wonderful promise of Abel Herd, one of that number. Formerly owned by a Daniel Murray Esq., Herd traveled for the past eighteen years through Asia, Europe, and South America but finally attained freedom to immigrate to Liberia. The purpose of Herd's newfound freedom was "to explore the River Mesurado and ascertain its proximity to the Niger."<sup>331</sup> The New York Colonization chapter that sponsored his trip saw the potential for rewards tied to the massive amounts of gold still purported to exist in the interior along the Niger. This came to naught, as upon arriving he went into the bush and contracted a sickness that left him dead within a month

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<sup>329</sup> London *Morning Chronicle*-Tuesday 27 May 1823

<sup>330</sup> Letter from Count Schimmelman, former Minister of State in Denmark" (1818), "Letter from Theophilus Blumhardt (Swiss)" (1828) and "Article in the African Repository: 'Swiss Mission to Liberia'" (1829).

<sup>331</sup>London *Morning Chronicle* Tuesday 27 May 1823; Religious intelligence" *The Christian Spectator*, Volume 5.

of his arrival.<sup>332</sup> However, such individual stories led to further support among the white community for an American outpost with black skin in Africa.

The ACS actively sought out high profile African Americans to emigrate. Possibly the organization's greatest convert was John Brown Russwurm, the first editor of a popular anti-slavery newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, founded in 1827. He had stood completely against the colonization movement at the beginning of publication. Yet in the interest of understanding thine enemy, he included pieces of the massive ACS propaganda campaign in his newspaper. The number of pro-colonization tracts increased as he developed closer ties with the group and became more disillusioned with the lack of any progress in the United States. In a short eighteen months, he had completely changed his mind and became one of the leading success stories of the ACS. In February of 1829 he even admitted in print, "Our views are materially altered."<sup>333</sup> By the end of the year, he had sailed with much fanfare from the ACS to a new home in Liberia.

### 5.3.2 Black Skin – Resistance

One of the three thousand at the Philadelphia meeting was Bishop Richard Allen, the founder of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Having originally backed Paul Cuffe's plan, based on the hope that it would spread Christianity to Africa, Allen avidly opposed the ACS and the wholesale removal of African Americans. As he stated so eloquently in *Freedom's Journal*, "We were stolen from our mother country, and brought here. We have tilled the ground ... which we have watered with our tears and our blood, [and] is now our mother country."<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> Colonization Society of the State of New-York. *Annual Report of the Colonization Society of the State of New-York* (New-York: Leavitt, Trow & Co. 1846) 11.

<sup>333</sup> *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut) 11 Aug 1829, Page 3.

<sup>334</sup> Richard Allen, "Letter from Bishop Allen," *Freedom's Journal*, 02 November 1827.

This argument was continued in David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* in 1829. Walker, a black shopkeeper in Boston, published and distributed his biting tract at his own expense. He exhorted African Americans to radical armed resistance. "Kill, or be killed," Walker told them, "the man who would not fight ... in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom ... ought to be kept with all his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies." He attacked the hypocrisy of America's claim to be a land of liberty as it treated humans of a different skin color as a commodity. He also advocated that Africans defend themselves against charges of inferiority: "The refutations written down by white friends are not enough - they are whites - we are Blacks."<sup>335</sup>

He denounced the ACS in his 1829 Appeal: "Men who are resolved to keep us in eternal wretchedness are also bent on sending us to Liberia . . . more through apprehension than humanity. . . America is more our country than it is the whites – we have enriched it with our blood and tears."<sup>336</sup> Walker saw colonization as "a plan to get those of the coloured people who are said to be free away from those of our brethren whom they unjustly hold in bondage ... For if the free are allowed to stay among the slaves, they will have intercourse together, and of course, the free will [teach] them that they are men, as well as other people, and certainly ought and must be free."<sup>337</sup>

White responses across the country to the incendiary pamphlet prove its impact. Fears of slave revolts caused the mayor of Boston to reign in Walker. Southern states passed retaliatory laws against possession of the tract. It was rumored that there was a reward for Walker's death.

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<sup>335</sup> David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles: Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829*. 2014. Accessed March 31, 2020 <[https://doi.org/10.5149/9780807869482\\_walker](https://doi.org/10.5149/9780807869482_walker)>. Walker, 12, 15.

<sup>336</sup> Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles*, 65.

<sup>337</sup> Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles*, 47.



Walker himself expected this reaction: “I ... not only expect to be held up to the public as an ignorant, impudent and restless disturber of the peace [but] perhaps put in prison or to death.”<sup>338</sup>

David Walker was killed under mysterious circumstances in 1830. Walker's brave legacy was continued by others, such as the anti-slavery movements influential African American woman, Maria Stewart. One study has found that 18.6% of all resolutions by local abolitionist chapters, more than any other subject, concerned defeating the ACS.<sup>339</sup> The effects of Walker's plea may have even helped the ACS in one respect, however. Walker's first draft of his plea was printed first in Russwurm's own paper, two months before his complete switch to emigrating to West Africa.

The resistance to the ACS also found another outlet that ostensibly provided another avenue of migration, while keeping white elites out of the project. In 1822, Jean-Pierre Boyer announced he would pay for passage for any African Americans who wanted to join the “Republic of all Blacks” on the western half of the Island of Hispaniola. Thirteen thousand African American residents of the United States immigrated to Haiti at the invitation of Boyer. Sara Fanning in *Caribbean Crossings* argues that African American proponents of this move embraced color not as a biological marker, but rather as representing “shared goals of unity, autonomy, and freedom from white rule.”<sup>340</sup> The Haitians thought that with the knowledge the African Americans brought with them to the island, they could produce an efficient system of free labor to compete with the slave states—thereby leading to the end of slavery. The majority of those who went to Haiti returned to the United States within only a few years. Boyer proved to be a dictator with no interest in creating the democratic society the African Americans longed

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<sup>338</sup> Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles*, 2.

<sup>339</sup> R.J. Young, *Antebellum Black Activists: Race, Gender, and Self* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 162.

<sup>340</sup> Sara Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing: African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2015) 11.

for. Nevertheless, the returnees did not start out for West Africa. They instead bided their time in northern cities and on farms stretching westward, working as best they could to end the slavery of their brethren in the south.

#### 5.4.1 Results

Despite the many efforts of the white leadership behind the ACS, the idea of recolonization seemed to have failed within a decade. The unification of the majority of free African Americans against the campaign spelled its doom. The agreement of a much larger group to immigrate to Haiti rather than Africa should have signaled the complete downfall of the plan, but as happened over and over throughout the age of Abolition, recolonization did not completely disintegrate. The groundwork and structure of the organization remained, but with few colonists, Liberia was far from flourishing.<sup>341</sup> Instead, the colony subsisted off of trade with British military ships and the ever dwindling amount of capital left in the ACS.<sup>342</sup> Yet, even as the propaganda campaign seemed to come to a halt, the organization's work and that of the mapmaker Anthony Finley would be revived when another event brought white desires to avoid a bi-racial society back to the forefront.

The ACS was neither anti-slavery nor pro-slavery, as many have previously argued, but instead was the middle answer of those who wished to employ the free African Americans of the country in an enterprise that would contribute to the country's new enterprise: expansion. Nobody's story better represents this than William Lloyd Garrison's, who as a white man willing to listen to the concerns of the African Americans early on went from making public speeches in

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<sup>341</sup> Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005) 21; Claude A. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 32-45.

<sup>342</sup> Bronwen Everill. *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 54.

support of the ACS to fighting against the organization and becoming a lead supporter for emancipation of his dark skinned countrymen.<sup>343</sup> A friendship with Forten first led to his discovery of the fallacies of the reporting on Liberia. Forten uncovered an early case of thirty-one colonists who all lost their lives to disease within a year, only two of whose deaths were reported by the ACS and *Russwurm*. For whatever reason, Garrison took this to heart and became one of the fiercest foes of the organization for which he had once advocated. He began his own newspaper that expanded the number of whites that would fight slavery and recolonization.<sup>344</sup> The Anti-slavery society that he helped to found would go on to be a pivotal foe of recolonization and play a central role in the demise of the institution of slavery itself.

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<sup>343</sup> *Freedom's Banner* (Chester, Vermont) 01 Apr 1829, Page 2.

<sup>344</sup> Jacqueline Bacon, *Freedom's Journal: The First African-American Newspaper* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007) 255-258.

Chapter 6

THE BRITISH AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

1831 – 1846

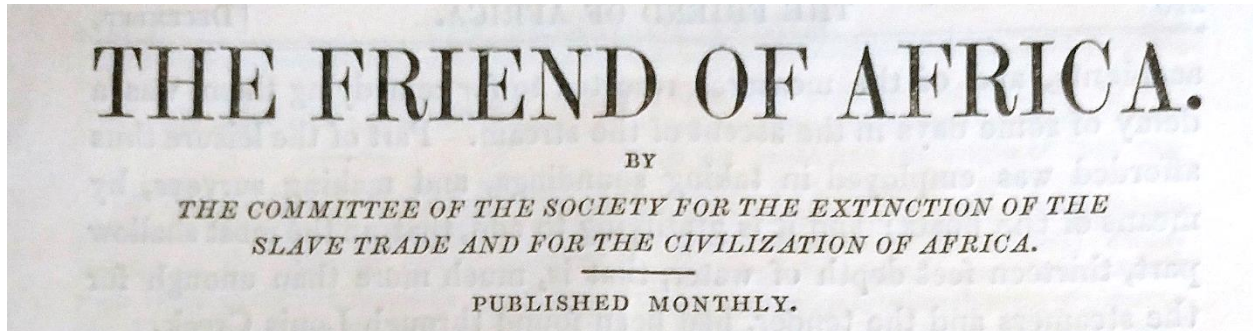


Figure 23 – The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, *The Friend of Africa* (London: Dec 1845) No 31. Held by Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford, UK.

News of slaves marching in open revolt on the Virginia state capital led by African American minister Nat Turner, hit English newspapers by Christmas 1831.<sup>345</sup> The first reports made it clear that the leaders of this revolt were in the custody of authorities. However, questions began to arise about the possible future success of one of these rebellions. Regions of England that still depended on the slave trade brought up past revolts in Jamaica, Barbados, and the northern coast of South America. They blamed anti-slavery societies for such uprisings, and Parliament for not muzzling such talk.<sup>346</sup> Newspapers for the West Indian lobby called for the censorship of anti-slavery groups because of the damage they caused to the trade networks of the Atlantic. Unknown to them at the time, on Christmas day a new revolt began in Jamaica that would be their worst nightmare. This revolt, started by a black Baptist minister named Samuel Sharpe, lasted for eleven days and involved 60,000 slaves, a fifth of the island's total slave population.<sup>347</sup>

Once again, those in power trotted out recolonization as the answer. This reinvigoration pulled the American Colonization Society back from an early deathbed. The number of those who went to Liberia increased, and more importantly, the organization used the white community's fears to explode its influence across the United States. Furthermore, British investors, such as Biddulph, began to refashion their portfolios in anticipation of a world entirely without slavery, opening the door to the gradualist Abolition Act passed in parliament in July of

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<sup>345</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, etc. (Liverpool, Merseyside, England) 09 Dec 1831, Page 2.

<sup>346</sup> *The Standard* (London, Greater London, England) 02 Sep 1831, Page 2; *The Newcastle Weekly Courant* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear, England) 10 Sep 1831, Page 2; *The Hull Packet*; and *East Riding Times* (Hull, East Yorkshire, England) 13 Sep 1831, Page 2.

<sup>347</sup> "Slave Revolt in Jamaica" *The Examiner* (London, Greater London, England) 26 Feb 1832, Page 8; Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787–1834* (University of Illinois Press, 1982), 81; *The Bury and Norwich Post* (Bury, Suffolk, England) 14 Mar 1832, Page 1.

1833.<sup>348</sup> The shift in investment was not limited to the other side of the globe, for once again Africa—the benighted continent—drew their attention.

### 6.1.1 Historiography

The American historiographical efforts to understand recolonization, looking foremost at the ACS's own publications, overwhelmingly consider support for the ACS lackluster at best.<sup>349</sup> The ACS always begged for money to increase its ability to transport African Americans during this period. When mixed with the Jackson administration's opposition to an increase in federal support, the recolonization attempts of the 1830s appear feeble. Yet, the ACS's newspaper output and the number of colonists hit one of several spikes beginning in 1832. Historians rarely connect the impact of British abolition and the era's string of revolts to recolonization's revival. Instead, the prevailing view is that the movement gained no real traction in these years. This view is in large part due to Garrison's move away from the ACS and his overhaul of the anti-slavery movement. The counter-propaganda campaign Garrison waged was consistently dismissive of his adversaries in the ACS, whom he considered part of the problem. Nevertheless, funding for the organization increased, and its membership grew to stretch as far as the Mississippi River Valley. This lack of attention in the historiography also extends to the British, whose interest in recolonization is usually minimized to the story of one American, Elliot Cresson, and his failure to garner support. The international investors of Britain did not see a

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<sup>348</sup> Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>349</sup> Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Allan Yarema, *The American Colonization Society An Avenue to Freedom?* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2006).

problem with the methods that English-speaking countries attempted in gaining power over West Africa, a sentiment they announced in their long-forgotten journal *The Friend of Africa*.

This chapter argues that although ACS came under virulent attacks, this has hidden the fact that an economic and philosophical war was being won by the centrists who supported colonization. The propaganda of the era continued to advertise the idea as a winning possibility based on an imagined West Africa. Instead of dying with the first refusals of Free People of Color, the ACS found enough support thanks to the upheavals of the 1830s to survive. Both slavers and the African American community continued to rally against the supporters of colonization. Despite this resistance, others throughout the Anglo-Atlantic were awakening to the possibility of turning human capital into a “free” labor force in West Africa before it was too late to protect their finances, as well as their hegemony.

### 6.2.1 White Money – Great Britain

With increasing talk of putting an Abolition Act before Parliament, a new organization, the British African Colonization Society (BACS), held its inaugural meeting to much interest in London. For the proponents of funding American based recolonization, it was a bust. The English interested in the meeting were opposed to the goal of the group. This opposition was not a loose group that just happened to be there but was composed of anti-slavery organization members. Previous scholarship has pointed to this as a minor episode involving a few men who continued investing in the American Colonization Society. However, the fifty-two volumes of two interrelated journals show that this was not the case. The publications began shortly after

that fabled meeting. While the group would change mastheads and benefactors, it would continue to put out its own journal until 1846.<sup>350</sup>

The arrangements to start printing a journal began before the first meeting, with the machinations of Elliot Cresson and John Biddulph, an American and an English banker, respectively. Cresson was a Philadelphia Quaker who spent his time as a paid agent of the American Colonization Society in England, desperately trying to raise support for the ACS.<sup>351</sup> He came to England just as interest exploded in the United States thanks to the Nat Turner Revolt. Cresson was under enormous pressure from the leadership of the ACS to deliver funding from English investors until his removal, as has been well documented by other historians. His prominence as the point man for much-needed British investment, as well as a clash with the British African Colonization Society (BACS) leadership, has led to extensive documentation of his role in the project's failure.<sup>352</sup>

John Biddulph, discussed in the Prologue, had offices in London but spent his time at his estate in Ledbury, Hereford, on the western reaches of England near the Welsh border. Biddulph personified English commercial success of his time. Slavery was still an integral part of the development of his wealth in late 1832 when he and Elliot Cresson started to correspond about

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<sup>350</sup> The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, *The Friend of the Africans* (London: Jan 1833 to Dec 1840) 11 volumes. Held by Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford, UK; The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, *The Friend of Africa* (London: Jan 1841 to Dec 1845) 31 volumes. Held by Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford, UK.

<sup>351</sup> "Colonization of Africa" *The Morning Chronicle*, London (October 12, 1832); "Colonization Society" *Aberdeen Journal, and General Advertiser for the North of Scotland*, Aberdeen, Scotland (February 6, 1832) 4; "Literary and Philosophical Society" *The Hull Packet*, Hull, England (November 27, 1832) 2.

<sup>352</sup> Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).



creating a colonization society.<sup>353</sup> Biddulph was unable to attend the organizational meeting on July 3, 1833, but had previously agreed to be the secretary for the organization.<sup>354</sup>

The BACS had many influential friends. The patron of the organization was the Duke of Sussex, Prince Augustus Frederick. Known for his liberal views, which included reform of parliament, abolition of the slave trade, Catholic emancipation, and the removal of existing civil restrictions on Jews and dissenters, the Duke maintained high status within the royal court. He was so renowned that he gave Queen Victoria away at her wedding to Prince Albert. The officeholders included Lord Bexley, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Bedford, John Russel, a former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and botany enthusiast whose son was Home Secretary and a future Prime Minister. The list includes many additional leading actors in the Whig party. With a consistency that was rarely seen in the colonization movement, this was a group of well-connected elite Anglicans.<sup>355</sup>

While the organization included a steady stream of the most important men in England, its support never reached as wide as it desired. Cresson's efforts were beaten by the growth of a transatlantic anti-slavery society, with Garrison and several African Americans speaking to undo the work of the powerfully connected organization.<sup>356</sup> But the BACS answered the need to ensure that ending slavery would not hold back investments in Pax-Britannica as a whole. The charitable moves of the English nobility were, after all, a reaction to the expansive press about the cruelty of the system. Proponents of colonization set out to ostensibly save Africa, but they

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<sup>353</sup> Kathleen Mary Butler, *The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados 1823-1843* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 55

<sup>354</sup> Elliot Cresson to John Biddulph 1833; *The Morning Chronicle* (London, Greater London, England) 05 Jul 1833, Page 4.

<sup>355</sup> The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, *The Friend of Africa* (London: June 1845) No 24. Held by Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford, UK.

<sup>356</sup> Caleb McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013) 40, 45-46.

were actually looking to protect themselves. In this, they opened doors that ensured another hundred years as the ruling empire of the world.<sup>357</sup>

The list of subscribers to the *The Friend of Africa* journal spread throughout the United Kingdom, from an Edinburgh banker to another on the Dover coast. One, the Reverend William Innis, published a somewhat premature history of Liberia called, *Liberia: Or, The Early History & Signal Preservation of the American Colony of Free Negroes on the Coast of Africa* in 1831. Republished in 1833, it concentrated on the religious and moral imperative for seeking to avoid a bi-racial society by recolonizing the African Americans to West Africa. Innis believed that Free People of Color in the United States were "idle, ignorant, vicious... often living by pilfering the property of their neighbors."<sup>358</sup> He thought that in the land of their ancestors, put to a dutiful task without whites to steal from, they would find Christ and become industrious members of the American empire.

Innis's work featured a new map of Liberia on the front plate. Published first in New York by G. F. Nesbitt, it is remarkably similar to the ones Finley had published in the early 1830s. Without color, it seemed to offer a more austere view of Liberia, but has several vital elements that showed developments of interest. It purports to show tribal boundaries but leaves out most of the indigenous people who lived in the area. The names included happen to be those first listed by J.J. Ashmun, who wrote the decade before about his time in Liberia before succumbing to disease. The Reverend Innis seems to have taken heart from the list of mission stations spread along the coast between native towns and villages. Such stations would also have led the viewer to think of each as a possible trading center. The map presents a picture of several

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<sup>357</sup> A Friend of the African 1835, 4.

<sup>358</sup> William Innes, *Liberia: Or, The Early History & Signal Preservation of the American Colony of Free Negroes on the Coast of Africa* (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes; M. Ogle, etc., 1833) iv.

good rivers for use as highways into the interior for future development. Innis's work and the map provided a foundation for the expansion of British and American interest in the region. Nevertheless, no matter how many times they repeated how such moves "should" or eventually "would" bring the African Americans "to the region his creator especially fitted him" they would not go.<sup>359</sup>



Figure 24 G.F. Nesbitt & Company. *Map of Liberia, West Africa*. [New York: Lith. G.F. Nesbitt & Co., 183-?] map. <https://www.loc.gov/item/96684983/>.

Of the economic possibilities the BACS explored over the next decade, very few became a reality. Still, they point to how using black-skinned individuals under their own system could help the transition to new capital needs created by the latest technologies developing in England. The Midlands section of England was in its heyday of production. Bankers, along with other elite

<sup>359</sup> "Liberian Colonization Society" *The Scotsman*, Dec 29, 1841. Found loose-leaf inside of John Biddulph's copy *Friend of Africa* copy for Mar 1842.

investors, eagerly attempted to diversify. Readers of *The Friend of the Africans/Friend of Africa* could see instructions being given for magnetic observations in West Africa meant to find raw materials to support industrial expansion.<sup>360</sup> The journal told interested parties of the many avenues opening up that doing business in Africa would help, but mainly provided assurance that science was moving forward in conquering Africa.

For many, the British government took the bite out of possible losses with the Abolition Act. The previously developed system of investment was inextricably linked to slavery, even as investors saw an ever-increasing risk to the credit system. British capitalism needed the government to provide a stable base for the coming change to the way they did international business, but free-market roots allowed for investments outside of the bounds of the empire. English investors were profoundly interested and often invested in the ACS, but some hoped to create new colonies, built on examples of Sierra Leone and Liberia.<sup>361</sup> The West African ventures existed, in their eyes, to further their own profits and the British Empire. Throughout *The Friend of the Africans/Friend of Africa* journal, it is apparent that they thought still in terms of sea travel within the empire. In each volume, they connected possible ventures to the British dominions in India, Australia, China, and all points in-between. The Atlantic world of investment was for them the foundation to be built upon going forward. The door seemed open now to using the settler colony motif within an international but English-speaking world to facilitate the growth of the empire.

One of the favorite places thought of for a new British colony was the Cape Palmas region. British investors looked at its geographical location in relation to new information from exploration. The question of the Niger River's course was becoming clear by 1832, which

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<sup>360</sup> *The Friend of Africa* 1841, 15.

<sup>361</sup> Elliot Cresson to John Biddulph 1833; *The Friend of Africa* 1835, 4.

allowed potential colonizers to look away from the Senegambia and towards the core of slave-trading nations that other European countries continued to do business with. The Sierra Leone example demonstrated the long-term profitability for those willing to put forth money in the short run.<sup>362</sup>

Several times, *The Friend of the Africans/Friend of Africa* noted the wealth already growing in West Africa at the hands of local chieftains. One of the more fanciful tales involved a

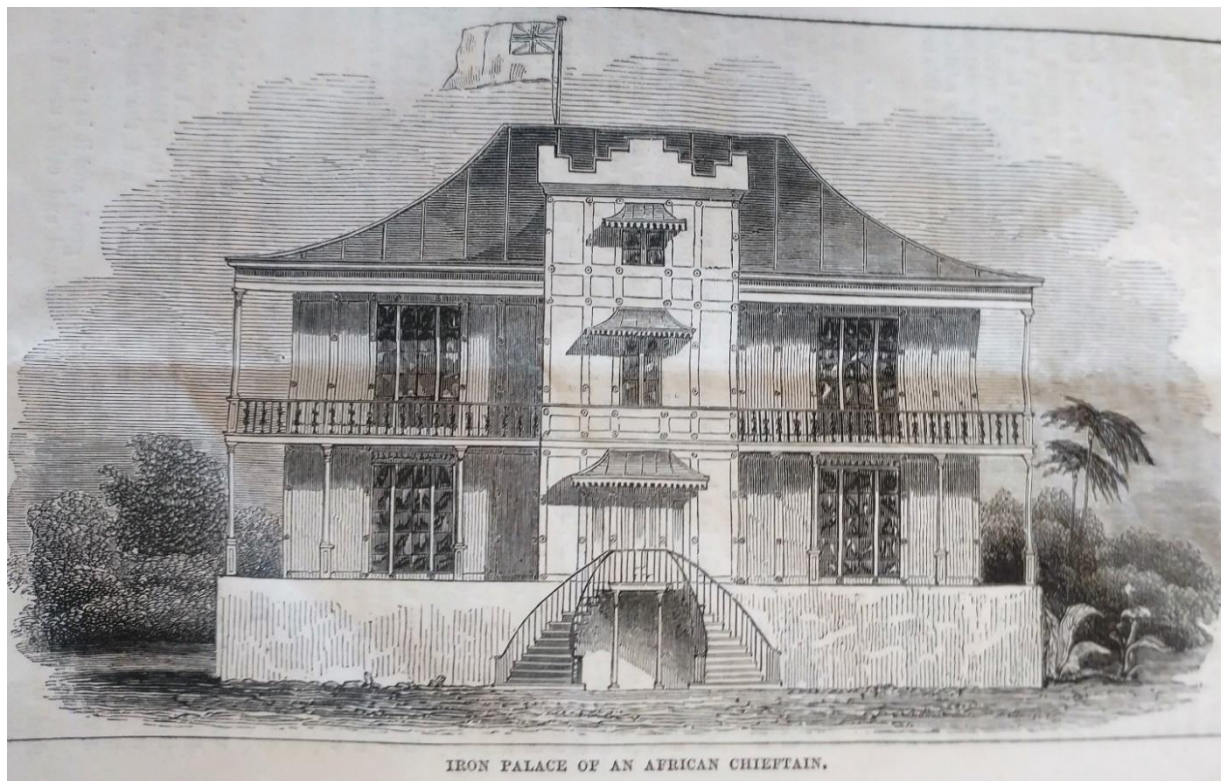


Figure 25 The Committee of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, "Iron Palace of an African Chieftain," *The Friend of the African Journal* (London: June 1, 1843). Held by Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre, Hereford, UK.

palace of an interior chieftain thought to exist in the Niger River Valley entirely made of Iron. The English journal reveled in the idea of a princely interior figure who lived in such a house; so much so that a sketch of the imagined structure appeared in its pages. The house depicted has

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<sup>362</sup> Bronwen Everill. *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 112.

every design frill of the developing Victorian Era, instead of a resemblance to anything in West Africa. Nothing could have satisfied the British desires from West Africa more than the raw materials of such a house.

Nevertheless, *The Friend of the Africans/Friend of Africa* was also about the possibilities that British proximity to Liberia could bring to short term gains in agricultural products. In hindsight, it seems clear that the BACS spoke somewhat prematurely. Still, their example of the conquest of North America showed that the model was moving at lightning speed in Africa and was the best answer to the radical extremes of change that were upon them. No longer was the goal to looking for to what to do with the labor force to end the slave trade or take care of the poor from England's own streets. Instead, it was to organize another satellite for the profit of the Anglo-Atlantic economic system. In a prescient way, they were quick to point out that if they did not make a move, the Americans might take over in the global dominance game.<sup>363</sup>

The organizing group that wished to stop them at their first public meeting was committed to fighting the ACS as well as the BACS. The American Anti-Slavery Society's (AASS) publications and speeches made it a formidable group. However, the secret to their success in spreading the idea of anti-slavery even after the empire had ended technically took the form of speeches against British investments in recolonization.<sup>364</sup> On June 1, 1841, the BACS attempted another public meeting to support its refashioned journal, *The Friend of Africa*. Feeling assured about the better turnout at this meeting, as the chair was his Royal Highness Prince Albert, it was reported to have produced a large crowd in Exeter. The slightly exaggerated

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<sup>363</sup> John Biddulph to William Innis, June 1833.

<sup>364</sup> William Lloyd Garrison, "Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles & Purposes of the American Colonization Society Together with the Resolutions, Addresses & Remonstrances of the Free People of Color" 1832 in *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, Vol. 1. New York: Citadel Press, 1992.

reports of the continuing interest in going to Africa were not at the center of the organizations' efforts anymore.

The meeting of 1841 instead concentrated on the economic advantages for supposedly both England and the residents of the Niger River Valley of a new attempt to send a large squadron up the river, referred to as the Niger Expedition. Building on meetings of affiliated groups held the previous year, the organization made it clear that it wished to reproduce the success of the Sierra Leone Colony on the Niger.<sup>365</sup> While the Niger Expedition continued to be treated as an ongoing colonizing effort, the campaign's lack of success, even with the supposed advancements of the time, made the English step back for the moment. Out of a 150 people on four iron ships with all the latest accompaniments of the new Victorian Era, nearly forty would die on the expedition before it ended with only minimal progress up the Niger River.<sup>366</sup> The reports from the American Colonization Society sank to the back of the journal. The central motive they always claimed was to end the slave trade and civilize Africa, yet the true point was once again the importance of agriculture as the redeeming feature of the empire that expansion into Africa offered. The new system was openly modeled on the old plantation system, but with the hope for a native-run operation.<sup>367</sup>

### 6.3.1 White Money – The Americans

The late August rebellion of Nat Turner and his congregation brought back old fears of the annihilation of white society. The Baptist preacher led a group of about seventy slaves on a

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<sup>365</sup> *The Friends of Africa* 1841, 17-41; David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, and Anthony Tibbles. *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010) 268-271.

<sup>366</sup> Curtin, Philip D. *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973) 300-301.

<sup>367</sup> Curtin, Philip D. *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973) 300-301.



march of terror in which they killed sixty whites before the more significant state militia force stopped them. Rumors, however, told of a force of twelve hundred slaves.<sup>368</sup> In the days following the revolt, white militias killed over a hundred and twenty Blacks indiscriminately.<sup>369</sup> White volunteers traveled to Virginia from as far away as Arkansas upon reading reports of the event in newspapers.<sup>370</sup> As the year ended, the newspaper reports only seemed to increase. Maryland passed the first of a string of new laws geared towards preventing "southern slaves" from receiving "inflammatory materials."<sup>371</sup> The need to evacuate came quickly. Over five hundred Free People of Color were alleged to have arrived in Philadelphia just from the vicinity of Southampton, Virginia, in the two months following the revolt.<sup>372</sup>

By December 1831, the calls for colonization began in the newspapers. The *Natchez Weekly Courier* reprinted a piece that made the white leaderships purpose in backing recolonizations clear.

From the late insurrections, which carried desolation to so many homes, and terror to so many hearts, we already see a glimmering of "good things to come." They have created an anxious solicitude with regard to the state of society, which exists amongst us – to the means of ridding ourselves of the free negroes, and the gradual extinction of the lesser evil of slavery... No one, we think, who will divest himself of prejudice, can doubt that the Colonization Society is the best scheme yet projected, to effect this end – whether it be regarded as the means of ridding one Continent of a deadly curse, or of conferring on another a glorious blessing.<sup>373</sup>

Locals, who, in 1832, floated a loan to the ACS to keep it viable, backed the *Natchez* newspaper's support. Historians largely overlook the early roots of colonization in the river

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<sup>368</sup> Democratic Free Press (Detroit, Michigan)15 Sep 1831, Thu Page 2; The Courier-Journal (Louisville, Kentucky)16 Nov 1831, Wed Page 2.

<sup>369</sup> Huron Reflector (Norwalk, Ohio)24 Oct 1831, Mon Page 3

<sup>370</sup> The Arkansas Gazette (Arkansas Post, Arkansas)21 Sep 1831, Wed Page 2

<sup>371</sup> The Courier-Journal (Louisville, Kentucky)05 Dec 1831, Mon Page 2.

<sup>372</sup> Vermont Gazette (Bennington, Vermont)31 Jan 1832, Tue Page 2

<sup>373</sup> The Natchez Weekly Courier (Natchez, Mississippi)02 Dec 1831, Fri, 5-6.



valley.<sup>374</sup> Headed by a banker and one of the largest slaveowners in America, Stephen Duncan, the Natchez business community joined with other business leaders along the lower reaches of the Mississippi River to find ways of supporting the removal of free black people. Duncan and the other investors in slavery's continuation were tied directly to British merchants. They sold their prime cotton directly to Liverpool merchants, which increased their bank accounts in New York and at home. They dealt and thought on an international scale daily. They focused on the importance of ports and the spread of commerce; therefore, the Mississippi River Valley acted as a hub for the expansion of the movement. Duncan, the wealthiest of the group, desired to not only remove free African Americans from America's midst but to expand his network. Even as he enslaved almost five hundred African Americans, he funded a Canadian farming colony for resettled African Americans and supported West African ventures. He was a man who simultaneously invested in railroads and westward expansion, and understood that West Africa was an opportunity for avoiding a bi-racial society and its effects on his many investments.<sup>375</sup> By 1837, Duncan and his fellow Natchez investors began a separate chapter named the Mississippi Colonization Society that sought to create a separate colony south of Liberia at the mouth of the Sinoe River.<sup>376</sup> Duncan was just one of many who saw the creation concoction of a race-based colony across the ocean as a benefit.

Natchez was not the only site of new support for the cause in the lower river valley. New Orleans was the international hub in the peripheral region of the English-speaking world and as such was the center of recolonization in the region. Recolonizationists looked at the city's Free

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<sup>374</sup> The one work about colonists from Mississippi concentrates on the 1840s emigration of the slaves of John Ross. See Mississippi in Africa

<sup>375</sup> Brazy, Martha Jane. *An American Planter: Stephen Duncan of Antebellum Natchez and New York*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006, 1-21.

<sup>376</sup> The Mississippi Free Trader (Natchez, Mississippi) 24 Jan 1837, Tue

People of Color population as the perfect candidates for removal across the ocean. Free People of Color made up over forty-four percent of New Orleans' population in 1830, but they lived under increasing restrictions on their mobility. The white population tried to constantly restrict their movements. The city fathers had also pushed through measures to limit the expansion of the population. From 1806 onward, the law allowed only slaves over thirty years old who demonstrated "proper conduct" freedom.<sup>377</sup> The ministers Archy Moore and Gloster Simpson—mentioned in the Prologue—eventually traveled to West Africa, not, however, as part of a contingent from their native Mississippi, but from one organized out of New Orleans.

James Workman, who had spoken out as a young professional in London in favor of Sierra Leone, funded the ACS in his will as a by-product of his main bequest. Shortly after issuing his calls to use Sierra Leone as an example for taking Mexico for the Irish (as mentioned in Chapter 2), Workman moved to the United States. Ensnoring himself with early American leaders led him to New Orleans, where he acted as a central figure in the transition of the city to American rule. His earlier pronouncements about the evils of slavery for the white man did not stop him from acquiring one female slave. The child later born to that slave, Kitty, became the main concern in his will. He allocated ten thousand dollars to support her in her new freedom. With his in-depth knowledge of the law, he gave her three choices upon his death in 1832. Her first choice was to sue the state legislature for her freedom and stay in New Orleans. Another was to move to Haiti, her mother's birthplace. Her final choice was to recolonize to West Africa under the umbrella of the ACS.<sup>378</sup> It is impossible to know the factors that led to her choice; nevertheless, the fact that the executor of the will was an integral financial backer of the

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<sup>377</sup> Jennifer Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in early New Orleans* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) 188.

<sup>378</sup> James Workman, Olographic Will, Dated April 24, 1831, filed October 18, 1832. *Orleans Parish, Louisiana, Court of Probate, Record of Wills, Will Book, 1824 – 1833*, vol. 4., 384.

Colonization movement should not be discounted. Regardless, Workman's bequest and Kitty's supposed choice of West Africa became a part of the ACS's annual reports to investors for several years.<sup>379</sup>

With each campaign to increase funding, the reports made it clear that any number of cash crops would grow in West Africa. These stories rarely included any reference to the jungles of the region. For example, Captain James Riley, famous as a former white slave of the Barbary pirates, presented good news to the southern audience. Riley returned from Madagascar in the fall of 1833 with twelve bushels of "Barbary Wheat." This was turned into evidence that, as it came from another portion of Africa, it would grow well in Liberia. As reported, Riley had presented the whole amount to the American Colonization Society.<sup>380</sup>

White investors agreed with the gentlemen from Natchez and New Orleans, and new chapters sprung up over the course of the next decade in an ever-expanding radius. The success of the ACS during this period materialized the most in Maryland, but the relationship between the first satellite chapter and the national organization was problematic. The state was the first to have a direct commercial line to Liberia, but the port of Baltimore saw the little profits from the colony early on. Even as the central organization weathered the craze for Haitian immigration, the Maryland chapter were willing investors in a new colony, but with a caveat. Their chapter would be a separate colony that answered directly to the state of Maryland, not to the ACS. The state of Maryland voted to pay ten thousand a year for the colony's upkeep, after an original

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<sup>379</sup> Gurley, Ralph Randolph. *The African Repository, and Colonial Journal*, Vol. VIII. (Georgetown D.C.: James Dunn, 1833).

<sup>380</sup> Richmond Weekly Palladium (Richmond, Indiana)12 Oct 1833, Page 2; The United States Gazette (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)21 Sep 1833, Page 1; The Charleston Daily Courier (Charleston, South Carolina)11 May 1833, Page 3.

layout of twenty thousand.<sup>381</sup> The funding of the Maryland colony directly caused a lack of funding of the central organization, and an inability to focus the efforts needed on expanding the colony at Monrovia. This system may come as a surprise, but was based on the understanding that states' rights were supreme in all but those things that must involve interstate traffic.<sup>382</sup> A colony, if a part of the nation, would have required one dominant system. Instead, as colonization only received some funding from the government and was dominated by private funding, the ACS had no reason to limit individual colonies sponsored by parallel organizations. In 1838, the American Colonization Society attempted to merge on paper with several of these societies to form the Commonwealth of Liberia, which claimed control over all settlements between the Cestos River and Cape Mount.<sup>383</sup> It was not until well after Liberia formed into a Republic that the various colonies slowly consolidated into one nation.<sup>384</sup>

Other Northern Atlantic states also tried to start colonies, but none were successful. With all the interest in colonization in Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Colonization Society seemed to be one step behind Maryland. The early protest by the larger than usual population of Free People of Color in Pennsylvania caused the organization to struggle to attain the level of interest necessary to emulate Maryland's efforts to build a colony.<sup>385</sup> Massachusetts had almost as large a population of Free People of Color, which had little or no interest in colonization even before

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<sup>381</sup> John Hanson Thomas McPherson, *History of Liberia*, in 9<sup>th</sup> Series of Historical and Political Science History is past Politics and Politics present History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1891), reprinted Lexington, KY: Filiquarian Publishing, 2014, 32.

<sup>382</sup> Wayne D. Moore, "Reconceiving Interpretive Autonomy: Insights from the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions" in *Constitutional Commentary*, vol. 11, no. 2, Fall 1994, pp. 315-354. Gale In Context: Opposing Viewpoints, <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.uta.edu/apps/doc/A15919175/OVIC?u=txshracd2597&sid=OVIC&xid=dedbea4b>. Accessed 20 June 2017.

<sup>383</sup> Claude Andrew Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 146.

<sup>384</sup> Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) 234.

<sup>385</sup> Kurt Lee Kocher, "'A Duty to America and Africa': A History of the Independent African Colonization Movement in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 51, no 2 (1984) 124; Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008) 36.

David Walker's plea made it clear where the free population stood in Boston. The New York Colonization Society joined the Pennsylvania society in founding a colony called Edina. After that showed little promise of attracting colonists, New York City met separately in 1834 to form a colony at the southernmost reaches of Africa's West Coast that made "agriculture the controlling, and almost the exclusive occupation of their colonists."<sup>386</sup>

#### 6.4.1 Black Skin – The Colonists

Listed as Catherine Workman, Kitty joined Moore and Simpson's families aboard the Brig *Rover* with 72 total colonists in 1835. The ship deposited them at the Liberian capital of Monrovia five weeks later, on April 24, 1835. They were supposed to rest there for a short time while the Reverend Simpson went to buy land from the Sno tribe to the south.<sup>387</sup> While they waited, Kitty contracted one of the many diseases the Americans lacked an immunity to and died a horrible death. The record left by the Liberian commission only lists her symptoms. True to form, *The African Repository* wrote a piece giving accolades to Judge Workman for sending his slave Kitty to Liberia, thus ending any discussion of what happened to her inheritance by calling it a contribution to the Society itself. Although the ACS had knowledge of her death, it failed to mention it.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> New York Colonization Society Charter, 1834, 16; Niles National Register (St. Louis, Missouri) 26 Jul 1834, Sat, Page 7; The Harbinger (Chapel Hill, North Carolina) 16 Jan 1834, Page 3.

<sup>387</sup> "Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States therewith," 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458; Jo Sullivan, ed. "Mississippi in Africa: Settlers among the Kru, 1835-1847" *Liberian Studies Journal* 8, no. 2 (1979): 79.

<sup>388</sup> "Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States therewith," 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458; Gurley, Ralph Randolph ed. *The African Repository, and Colonial Journal*, Vol. IX (Georgetown D.C.: James Dunn, 1838).

As well as death and disease, economic problems were rampant in the colony. In the mad dash to create cash crops, the settlers relied on local indigenous neighbors for food. This was unsustainable and led to increasing hostility. By 1837 food shortages, local wars, and recapture for sale to illegal slave traders became constants across the new colonies.<sup>389</sup> Adding to the difficulties was the lack of skilled laborers. Religious and civil leaders abounded, along with farmers, but without the skilled workers, it continued to be hard to develop self-sustaining towns in-between the endless rainy seasons and disease outbreaks. The ACS did not include such stories in its annual reports, only in an occasional abolitionist newspaper or errant letter back did such stories surface.<sup>390</sup>

Several years before Simpson and Moore's tour of the country to raise money, other stories were published about the supposed bounty of Liberia. Beginning in 1827 Liberian residents began to write to encourage others to join them. The letters sent home and shared through the American Colonization Society's propaganda mouthpiece, *The African Repository*, spoke of pride and the importance of "Africa's redemption" by each colonist.<sup>391</sup> Throughout the period, such letters were reprinted. One 185 letter from a resident, Mr. Beverly Wilson, purported to give an even-handed look at the colony and its trajectory. He mentioned the past hardships but made it clear that the land could be as fertile as the well-known Mississippi River Valley. To both colonists and investors, he stated clearly, "The successful prosecution of the enterprise in Africa (as in America) depends to a very great extent upon the amount of capital

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<sup>389</sup> Liberia Herald, February 1838, front page.

<sup>390</sup> Charles Henry Huberich, ed., *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia* (New York: 1947) 654.

<sup>391</sup> American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States. *The Ninth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States* (Washington City: American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, 1826) 30.

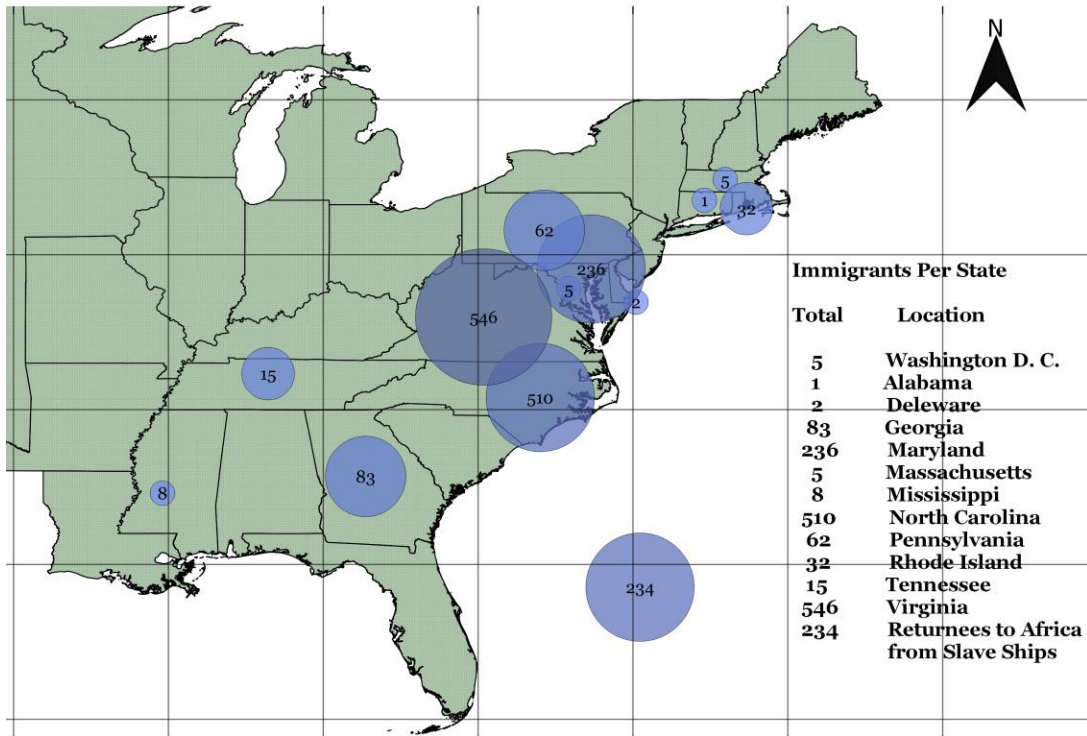
invested."<sup>392</sup> Wilson spoke not in terms of civilizing or morality but in terms of expansion of the economic network—of capital.

During this second iteration of the American effort to recolonize, the makeup of the actual colonists began to shift away from Virginia and a smattering of free African Americans from the North. Although Virginia still accounted for the largest share, no longer did you see the northern free African Americans. Instead, recruitment expanded across the South. Like Catherine Workman, many of these colonists came as a result of clauses in their masters' wills. The underlying cause of the shift was the impact of Nat Turner's rebellion. The few free people of the various regions of the South came to be viewed as a bigger threat in the white population's mind, because of their example to slaves as well as their attempts to educate fellow African Americans still enslaved. Yet the catalyst for this move was the pressure brought about by the actions of Nat Turner and the press that consistently mentioned that he was a free African American and a minister. Northern recruitment of free African Americans would never match the numbers that came out of the South in this or the next version of the ACS's attempts.

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<sup>392</sup> The Evening Post (New York, New York) 11 Jun 1835, Page 2; American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States. *The Eighteenth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States* (Washington City: American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, 1835).

### Pre-Nat Turner's Rebellion Liberian Immigrants 1821-1831



### Post-Nat Turner's Rebellion Liberian Immigrants 1832-1842

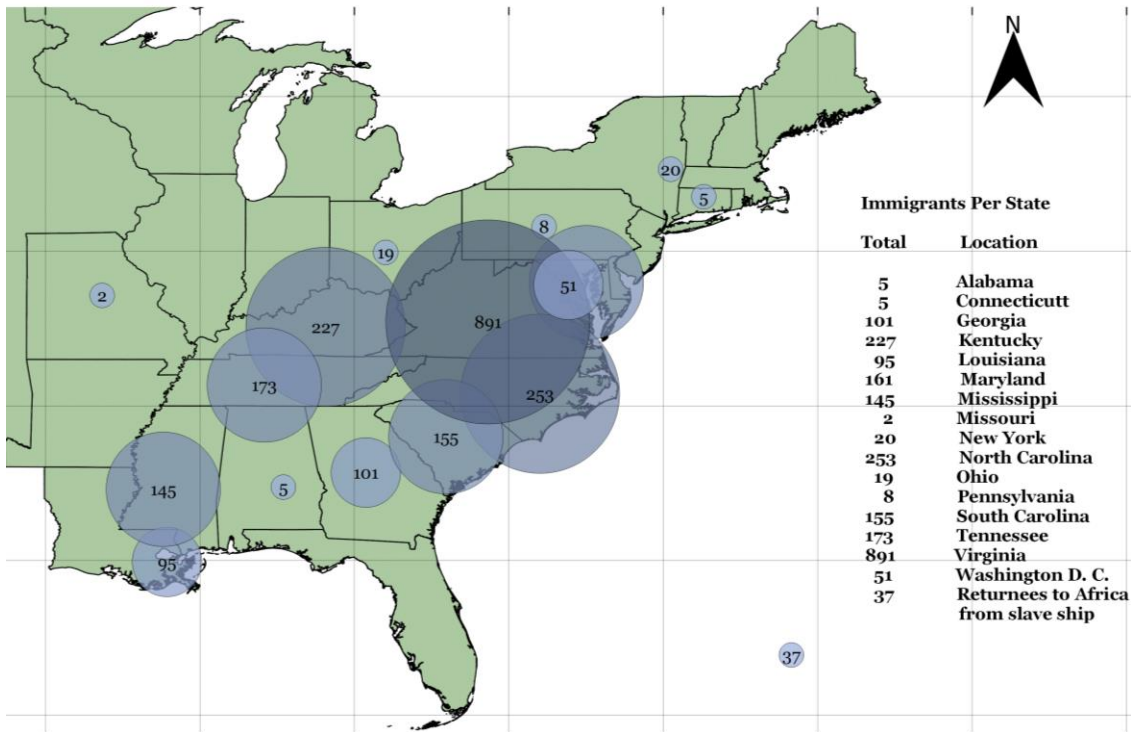


Table 1 Recolonization to Liberia from the USA before and after the Nat Turner Revolt, GIS Maps.



#### 6.4.2 Black Skin – Transatlantic Resistance

The disturbance at the BACS's first meeting was just the beginning. By the next week, the white abolitionists who had worked their way into the meeting were joined by an African American voice in a meeting in Exeter Hall. The Reverend Nathaniel Paul received much interest in print over the next three years in England. The Baptist minister's main goal was raising funds for a new colony in Canada called Wilberforce, but he was quick to speak out against the ACS and its efforts in West Africa.<sup>393</sup> Not once did Paul, in his many speeches, speak negatively of Africa itself. Instead, he concentrated on the problem of white control of any venture that purported to help African Americans. He argued that their efforts were based on a wish to continue slavery.

This society was the means too, of there being laws enacted to prevent slaves from meeting for the purpose of public worship...It professed to be the friend of the free people of colour, and said that it sought their welfare; yet in Newhaven, when a school for coloured children was attempted to be established, the Colonization Society was the bitterest persecutor of the founder of the school.<sup>394</sup>

While it may be indirect, Reverend Paul's comment about restrictions on the slave's ability to worship comes from the organization's members' support for both recolonization and slave restrictions following the Nat Turner Rebellion. While such comments seem to have been based in fear more than reality, the backers of the local rules in the South included Henry Clay, Stephen Duncan, and other supporters of colonization.<sup>395</sup>

The mention of a school in New Haven referred to an attempt two years earlier to start a college for African Americans. In June of 1831, a group of African American religious leaders sought to recruit backing for a university to be called the "African College" in New Haven,

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<sup>393</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, etc. (Liverpool, Merseyside, England) 19 Jul 1833, Page 3.

<sup>394</sup> *The Observer* (London, Greater London, England) 14 Jul 1833, Page 4.

<sup>395</sup> Martha Jane Brazy, *An American Planter: Stephen Duncan of Antebellum Natchez and New York* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

Connecticut.<sup>396</sup> They chose New Haven because of its proximity to other schools and the ease of sailing connections with the West Indies, from which they hoped to attract students. The school was not to be; as soon as the original reports were published, the city called an immediate meeting to stop it from being built, claiming that the college was "designed to propagate sentiments favorable to the immediate emancipation of slaves in disregard of the civil institutions of the states in which they belong."<sup>397</sup> At the time, slavery was still legal in Connecticut. Any such move would cut into the profits of local merchants and slaveowners. Connecticut produced one of the first supporting chapters of the ACS. The chances of the city fathers being among its membership were high.<sup>398</sup>

A May 1833 convention held in Philadelphia of Free People of Color to develop better circumstances for the black population in North America spent much time trying to find a cohesive answer to the emigration of free African Americans. They, out of hand, rejected the "back to Africa" push to proceed to Liberia, but were willing to find another suitable place to emigrate "where they will no longer be subject to the overbearing treatment of the whites."<sup>399</sup> The best choice they saw was to create a new colony in the mythical land of southern prosperity, Texas. For the previous two weeks, the Philadelphia newspaper reported on the second convention of Anglo "slavocrats" in Mexican Texas attempting to create a separate state in order to continue slavery in the face of Mexican emancipation.<sup>400</sup> It quickly became apparent that the white population was averse to the idea of a black colony in Texas -- no matter which government controlled the district. The conventioners did not reject Africa as such, but a white-

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<sup>396</sup> *The Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts)08 Oct 1831, Front Page.

<sup>397</sup> *Vermont Chronicle* (Bellows Falls, Vermont)07 Oct 1831, Page 2; *The Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts)22 Oct 1831, Page 3.

<sup>398</sup> *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut)21 Oct 1833, Page 3.

<sup>399</sup> *Preston Chronicle* - Saturday 01 June 1833, British Library; *York Gazette* (York, Pennsylvania)11 Jun 1833, Page 2.

<sup>400</sup> *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania)03 Dec 1833, Page 2.

led colony that did nothing to fight for the ending of slavery. The well-known fact that white-controlled Texas was the latest outpost of the western expansion of slavery was the very reason for the convention's vote to instead support Reverend Paul's Wilberforce Colony in Canada.<sup>401</sup> One member of the convention not only advocated heavily for a Texas colony, but also raised funds to visit the state himself in 1839. Martin Delany was known before and after for standing up to anyone who disagreed with him, no matter the color of his or her skin. When faced with the reality of Texas, though, he quickly gave up.<sup>402</sup> The rapidly unfolding events in Texas, where Anglos overthrew the Mexican government and subsequently set up a republic of slavery, stopped any serious attempt at a colony of Free People of Color.

Taking up the mantle of her former employer David Walker, Maria Stewart was one of many voices during the period that spoke for her fellow African Americans' desire to stay and make their life in the land where they were born. Stewart's speech at Franklin Hall received attention in the anti-slavery circles and other. It was the first major address by a woman to a mixed crowd in the United States. Her speech even was reprinted in book form at the time.<sup>403</sup> As a woman and an African American she was breaking ground by speaking in such a prestigious location. Her main purpose was to end slavery as soon as possible. Still, she also stated that the attempts to remove the Free People of Color such as herself spoke to the ultimate lie to the ACS's supposed support of any viable form of abolition that did not end in continued inequality. Stewart and others like her saw education as the key to the success of newly freed slaves. Education would put a lie to the idea of racial inferiority. Recolonization would only segregate

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<sup>401</sup> John Ernest, *A Nation Within A Nation: Organizing African American Communities Before the Civil War* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011).

<sup>402</sup> Martin Robison Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (2009).

<sup>403</sup> Maria Stewart, "Lecture Delivered at Franklin Hall, Boston" September 21, 1832 in Stewart, Maria W., and Marilyn Richardson, *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 46 – 48.

African Americans from the home they had a right too and the chances for advancement. Stewart would take her place as a leader of education for African Americans, eventually working as an administrator for various institutions in Washington DC dedicated to the advancement of African Americans.<sup>404</sup>

While Marie Stewart and others tried to support the efforts of Reverend Paul, the ACS presented the most damning evidence against itself by accident. The return from Liberia of a colonist named C. Thomas Brown offered the most precise picture of the state of things in the colony. On his return in 1834, a question and answer session with him was organized by the leaders of the society. They attempted to go over the questions the night before to ensure his best answers for them. He politely told them that it would make him seem disingenuous to the audience. Instead of helping the colonizationists' cause, his answers revealed the degradation of life in the colony. They left no room for the audience to believe that the colony was in the best interest of any possible colonists. The abolitionists had the transcript written by a colonizationist publication.<sup>405</sup>

### 6.5.1 Results

The many developments in the move towards abolition in the 1830s caused the return of the idea of recolonization just as it looked as if it would die. The response of white communities towards African American ministers following the rebellion led by Nat Turner helped to expand

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<sup>404</sup> Stewart, Maria W., Benjamin C. Bacon, David Ruggles, and William Lloyd Garrison. *Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart: Presented to the First African Church & Society of the City of Boston*. New York, N.Y.: New York Public Library, 1997; Maria W. Stewart, *America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches*. Ed. Marilyn Richardson (Indiana University Press, 1987) 133; Valarie Cooper, *Word Like Fire: Maria Stewart, the Bible, and the Rights of African Americans*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>405</sup> Thomas C. Brown, *Examination of Mr. Thomas C. Brown, a free colored citizen of S. Carolina, as to the actual state of things in Liberia in the years 1833 and 1834 at the Chatham Street chapel, May 9th and 10th, 1834* (New York, S. W. Benedict & co., printers, 1834).

the number willing to go to Africa just as the ACS looked as if it would implode. The Americans responded by expanding funding for the cause. However, the organization's preexisting problems of a national organization backed by the government meant that the ACS had to concede control of funds in many cases to new state chapters. Building on the writings of the time, historians have presented the organization as either unpopular or a victim of mismanagement, but neither is true of this period. White business and political leaders successively expanded support through newspapers and journals that presented the newest group of Blacks willing to go as just the beginning of a future in which the majority would relocate to West Africa. The state and city organizations that began to crop up answered this propaganda but did so wanting to fund local recolonization efforts instead of a national organization.

The splintering of the ACS as a central force gave African American voices room to expand their resistance. With the help of a few white abolitionists, African Americans successfully used the conversation of colonization to build support for emancipation. With the growing call for abolition in the United Kingdom, the economic depression of the late 1830s, and the vocal support of Garrison, African Americans managed to stave off British support of the cause. The example of Sierra Leone was continuously touted as an example of what could happen with British investment. The American and English newspapers still spoke of Sierra Leone as a success; they ignored the findings published in other academic circles of it having the highest death rates in the British imperial reach.<sup>406</sup> A series of influential individuals across Britain did see economic reasons to support new colonies in West Africa, but the realities of the region and the growing opposition forced them to limit expansion. The British were already set up for the potential of growth and with restrictions from the United States government on trading

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<sup>406</sup> Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, Delivered Before the University of Oxford in 1839, 1840 and 1841* (London: Longman, 1861) 117. <<https://archive.org/details/lecturesoncolon00meriuoft>>

with their small colonies they could invest where they needed with or without the friendship with the ACS.

The ACS on the other hand was hemorrhaging money after the fall in support during the Panic of 1837 that hit both nations' pocketbooks. Once again, the idea of recolonizing the former commodities to Africa proved unattainable, yet the propaganda campaign continued to put out as much information as possible, waiting for a future that fit its desires for an economical answer that avoided the bi-racial problem they thought problematic. Instead, the organization would find an answer that through perfect timing not only revitalized the organization but, led to the most successful recolonization period in the Age of Abolition.

Chapter 7  
THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA  
1847 – 1862

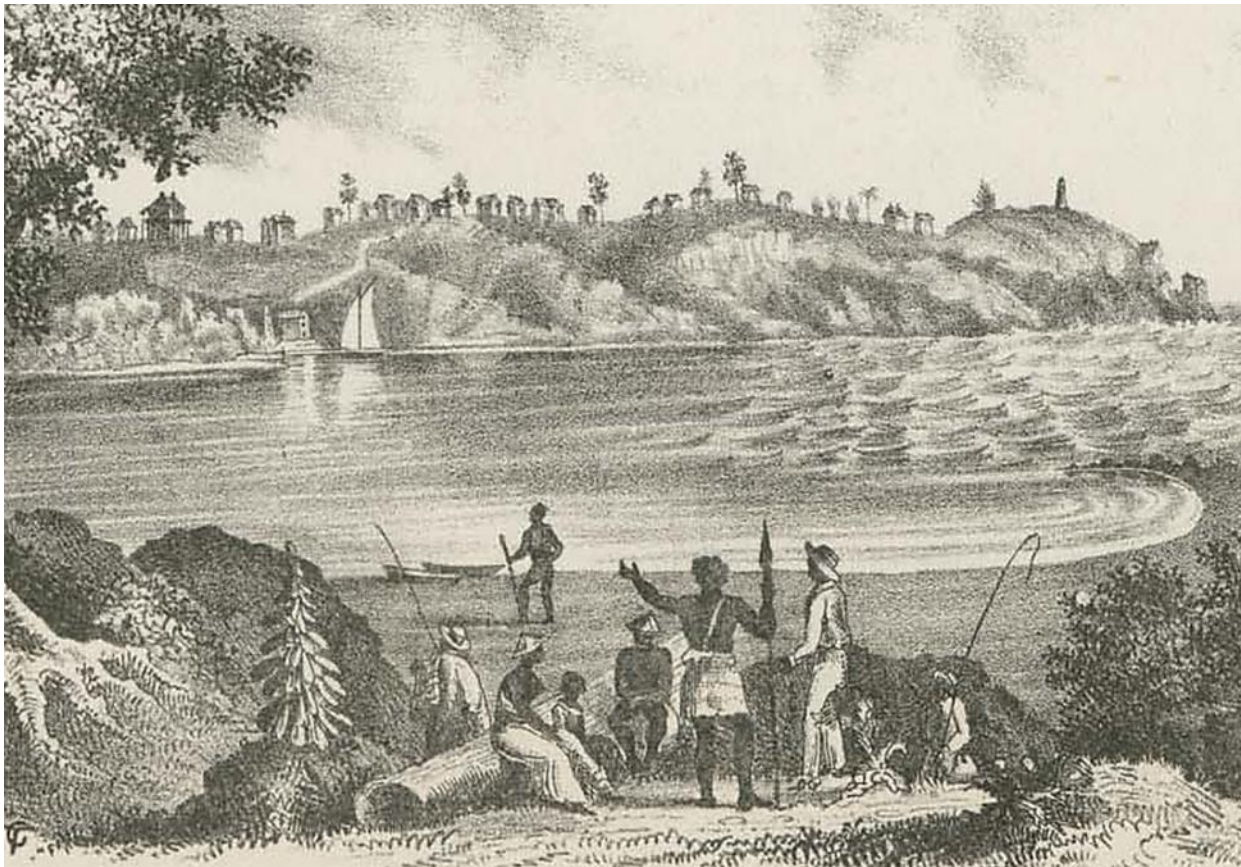


Figure 26 Wagner & McGuigan, Cape Palmas from "Views of Liberia" in "W. F. Lynch Report of Mission to Africa," *Senate Executive Documents, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, Part 3, Vol. 1, Doc. 1* (1853). Crayon lithograph.

On Christmas Eve of 1855, John Gass of Bourbon County, Kentucky died. He left behind a large family as well as eighteen enslaved people listed as property. His granddaughter inherited one of his slaves, while the other seventeen had provisions made for them to go to West Africa. Their freedom hinged on them agreeing to go as part of the Kentucky Colonization project.

It is my will that such of those negroes as  
Shall refuse to go to Liberia, shall be sold to go down  
The river, and the money for which they are sold  
Shall be given to those who do go.<sup>407</sup>

Gass did not free his slaves to live wherever they pleased. He and many other slave owners during this era released their slaves upon their own death, with the explicit condition that they must leave the only home they knew. While the mortality rate of colonists throughout recolonization was extensive, Gass's former slaves' chances of survival were meager. The death rate was in part due to the colony's overpopulation at the precipice of the rainy season.<sup>408</sup> By 1859 reports came back that all colonists had died.<sup>409</sup> Even as recolonization reached an all-time high during this period, it did so with the news of the hardship reaching such a cacophony in print that it was unavoidable to hear.<sup>410</sup> Nevertheless, those like Gass provided it is the only choice left other than the threat of being sent "down river" deeper into slavery.<sup>411</sup>

Based on Gass's comment of "down river" and his location, it is apparent that he was familiar with the anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin's or Life Among the Lowly* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, published first in 1852. By 1855 it was the single most popular novel in America. It went on to become the most published work of fiction in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>407</sup> John Gass Will, Bourbon Co., Kentucky Probate Records, Book P: 432-434; estate of John Gass (1856) 432.

<sup>408</sup> The death rate hovered around 66% from 1820 to 1843. See Appendix D.

<sup>409</sup> Francis Blair argued that the Missouri society would never let this happen as they would only send those that they could fully provision, but Gass had provided more than usual for his former slaves to go, \$2000, See Francis Preston Blair, *Address to the Missouri Colonization and Mercantile Association* (St Louis MO: Missouri Colonization and Mercantile Association, 1859). Accessed June 9, 2019, Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center.

<sup>410</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>411</sup> John Gass Will, (1856) 432.



Stowe's tale amplified the growing presentation of the evils of slavery, which expanded the northern call for ending the institution. However, the south solidified its defense of the process, delineating a clear line of support along the Mason-Dixon divide. The end of the novel presents a stark difference between the protagonist's death after being sent "down river" into the depths of slave society and the supposed "happy ending" of the others that escaped slavery to find salvation in Liberia, a perceived promised land.<sup>412</sup>

Stowe was the daughter of a strong advocate for colonization during the 1830s and was a member of the Connecticut Colonization Society. She presented the migration to Africa as the ultimate good for the former slave, which sharply contrasted with the hell on earth for both the slave and the psychological nature of the master when sold "down the river."<sup>413</sup> Her use of colonization as the best result only mimicked the new wave of support spreading through the states. She felt the need to clarify to William Lloyd Garrison that her book would act as a bridge between abolition and colonization. There is no doubt that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was perfectly timed to help force Northerners to deal with the gritty reality of slavery and the absurdity of it as a business in their world. However, the novel's true beauty was in repackaging the old idea that recolonization would allow for them to stifle the growth of the bi-racial society even as they came to terms with the coming storm.

### 7.1.1 Historiography

Historians have long acknowledged the 1850s as the golden apex of the chance for colonization of African Americans to Africa. This scholarship has presented the movement as the

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<sup>412</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: Life Among the Lowly* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2009) 376

<sup>413</sup> Thomas Graham, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Question of Race" in *The New England Quarterly* 46, no 4 (1973) 616.

attempt by a few desperate and misguided individuals on the margins of the greater issues of the day, since this period saw several events that redefined the United States and undeniably led to civil war and emancipation. The 1850 compromise, a collection of bills meant to diffuse the fracture between the free and slave states after the Mexican-American War, added large territories in the west and seemingly opened up more land for expansion. But the 1854 Kansas Nebraska Act would turn the frontier into a war zone by making the choice between free and slave the purview of the residents of the state through popular sovereignty, even as some states were on the cusp of resorting to forced deportation to recolonize Free People of Color. The Dred Scott Supreme Court decision in 1857 stated that no matter whether free or enslaved, African Americans could not be considered citizens with rights and privileges, a common reason given for support of recolonization.<sup>414</sup> However, 1857 saw what looks like the end of the short heyday of the ACS. Historians point out that with a lack of government funding for the ACS, the organization had no real support.<sup>415</sup> In this chapter, it becomes clear that the outlay in funding would not come to the ACS, but the state chapters of the organization through state agreements across the Midwest and in several locales throughout the south. While this period saw the most considerable expansion of the actual migration, it was small compared to the massive development of these separate chapters of the ACS. Historians treat this development as an example of the splintering of the organization, even as its financial and media support reached new heights.

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<sup>414</sup> Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emigration, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Philip J. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Beverly C. Tomek, ed., Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 119, 207.

<sup>415</sup> Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, 242-245.

The fragmentary nature of the ACS and the predominance of its propaganda outlet, *The African Repository*, have clouded modern readers' view of the period as has the post-Civil War context of African American history. However, after delving into the geographical origins of colonists, accounting for the lag time in organizing their passage, and an exhaustive look at the newspaper publications, this failure came faster than is portrayed in the record and was dead in the African American mind before the Dred Scott decision was even introduced. To understand the perspective of the African American community in the 1850s, one needs to look at how migration patterns divided along the Mason-Dixon line, not how patterns divided between those who were free versus those who were freed to go by the ACS.<sup>416</sup> By looking at the expansion of recolonization to the late 1850s, scholarship has emphasized the continued impact on white thought as the nation plunged into civil war and the ramifications of emancipation. Some recent works by historians have updated to embrace the role of Abraham Lincoln as a subscriber to the overall idea of colonization, who wanted a cheaper version of moving by rejecting Africa for Central America.<sup>417</sup> Other than one seminal work on Arkansas in 1876-77, the ending of slavery ends discussion of white efforts to recolonize giving way to the story of segregation and the scramble for Africa, respectively.<sup>418</sup>

This chapter will look at the actual slow death of the recolonization effort thanks to the African American refusal to go even as they renewed efforts to gain equality in the country in which they were born. The economic interest in recolonization waned as emancipation made it clear that no rebirth of the movement would help the nation avoid the bi-racial society in the

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<sup>416</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>417</sup> Philip W. Magnuss and Sebastian N. Page. *Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2018).

<sup>418</sup> Kenneth Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

offing. This chapter demonstrates how this failure was not a product of an inevitable end of the deadly project, but was instead the result of the fact that the ACS was a defunct organization in the eyes of Americans based on its past failures. The previous two chapters show that the original and 1832 attempts by the central organization could not gain long-lasting or sizable support from free African Americans. Although holding on thanks to its previous funding, the national organization was effectively revived by the spread of these new chapters and events in Liberia, its flagship colony. Colonization was still seen as a viable option of removing the black population from their midst. It was an integral part of the solution that the white population saw for their economic future.

The renewal of the project and its demise within a few years were directly attributable to African Americans, the very people the ACS wished to colonize. The news of Liberia having formed an independent free nation of Blacks expanded interest among the community, in turn expanding white support. But even as the number of Free People of Color increased, many other Free People of Color spoke against the move, effectively curtailing British investment. As each new recolonization chapter began to form in hopes of creating its own separate colony, they found it impossible to get any African Americans to go freely. The majority of those going during this time were like John Gass's slaves, who were left few other choices. Supporters who operated on a state basis resorted to outright deportation, even as publications covered the move as the best option for Blacks, despite their protests. The consistent theme throughout the rhetoric of the era centered on ending the slave trade and recolonization, leading to the continued development of a centrist attitude in the United States that neither wanted the fears and problems of slavery or the implications of a bi-racial society. The country's newspapers spoke of the rightness for the former African Americans to move, but only by ignoring the hardships involved

and the growing voices against colonization could they keep the dream of colonizing large swaths of the African American population to a place even Abraham Lincoln called "their own native land."<sup>419</sup>

### 7.2.1 Black Skin - Colonists

In the fall of 1847, the newspapers were replete with the news of Liberia, a new nation in West Africa.<sup>420</sup> The recolonization movement reached a fever pitch of support. Led by the Virginia-born President of the new Republic, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, former African Americans created a constitution for the new nation that promised that the new country would be a beacon of hope for the demise of slavery, a civilizing force for Africans, and a space for the expansion of African American immigrants.<sup>421</sup> The Republic would originally encompass the land bought by the national ACS and the already defunct colony of Louisiana. Only with the end of the decade would the Maryland colony and the other defunct attempts finally be subsumed by the Republic of Liberia.

The US papers gladly told of the British Prime Minister's immediate signaling that they would not fight the creation of the Republic as it would add to the ability of the British navy to end the slave trade.<sup>422</sup> As one article put it plainly, "the efforts of the political Abolitionists, though almost superhuman, cannot point to a single result that recorded above. Had they directed their energies to colonization in Africa, we might now have had a dozen republics in that region,

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<sup>419</sup> Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, and Edwin Erle Sparks *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Springfield, Ill: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1908) 101.  
<<https://archive.org/details/lincolndouglas2184linc>>

<sup>420</sup> *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland)15 Dec 1847, Frontpage; *Middlebury Register* (Middlebury, Vermont) 28 Dec 1847, Page 2; *Palmyra Weekly Whig* (Palmyra, Missouri) 12 Aug 1847, Frontpage; *The Morning Post* (London, Greater London, England)20 Jan 1848, Page 2.

<sup>421</sup> *New Orleans Weekly Delta* (New Orleans, Louisiana)27 Dec 1847, Page 4;

<sup>422</sup> *Vermont Mercury* (Woodstock, Vermont)24 Dec 1847, Page 2; *Daily Nashville Union* (Nashville, Tennessee)15 Dec 1847, Page 2; *New York Daily Herald* (New York, New York)10 Nov 1847, Page 4.

rejoicing in true freedom."<sup>423</sup> What the papers failed to print was the trajectory of failure of another recolonization project.

Also not reported in any of the newspapers was the fact that the ACS had told the Afro-Liberians they had to create a republic to take care of themselves, as the Society was unable to meet the needs of the previous colonists. Written hurriedly, probably out of fear that the ACS would change its mind, the constitution states what had been made clear in letters: "the American Colonization Society" would "dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves."<sup>424</sup> The previous decade had seen a tremendous drop in the funding of the ACS directly. Formerly established chapters such as that in Maryland had, as shown in Chapter 5, refused to bend to the national organization and had set up their own trading empire in West Africa under the Maryland colony. The Louisiana colony was attempting to do the same. As the Panic of 1837 hit their investments and their failure to gain much-needed support in England, as shown in Chapter 6, the organization was sent over the edge into near bankruptcy. Finally, as a possible war with England over Oregon loomed in the midst of the Mexican-American War, the organization saw little choice but to admit the failure that they barely escaped in 1832. Instead, it decided to let the colony become autonomous to save the organization. Unbeknownst to the white managers, they had realized the dream of Paul Cuffee and the 13,000 who had immigrated to Haiti in the 1820s; they had created a Black Republic.

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<sup>423</sup> The Daily National Whig (Washington, District of Columbia)09 Nov 1847, Page 2.

<sup>424</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Liberia*, October 17, 1847.

Looking back, historians see this as the mere formality of changing between a colony and a client state.<sup>425</sup> However, ACS officials were more worried about funding for the next year. The commercial success they expected had not materialized. By 1845, the organization successfully cut the cost of the colony. Eighty percent of expenses now came from the anchorage and light-duty charges from the port, but as soon as the numbers were published other problems began to ensue.<sup>426</sup> In 1846, complaints began to come back that British merchants, working through Sierra Leone, had begun to seize shipments of palm oil directly from Liberian ships once they left the Bassa Cove harbor. The British navy also began to incite indigenous groups to ignore the Liberian colony's rules and trade directly with them. Unable to get formal backing from the United States government or raise an army to subdue the indigenous groups, the ACS set out to cut its losses and mimic the Sierra Leone government by getting the Polk administration to pay the bill for the colony. The administration and congress both refused to take over the colony. They agreed to give a special trading relationship to the Liberians if they were independent of any official affiliation with the United States. The administration's focus on Great Britain had to be the settlement of the Oregon question. An actual conflict in Africa to save a faltering colony was not something they were willing to risk.<sup>427</sup>

However, by 1848 the Free People of Color the organization had sought for so long began to see Liberia as a viable option. As news of a solid foundation began to spread across the African American community at the end of 1847, the number of colonists skyrocketed. The majority, as always with the ACS, would be freed to go to Liberia from southern states, but the

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<sup>425</sup> David F. Ericson "The ACS's Not-So-Private Colonization Project" in Beverly C. Tomek, ed., Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 119.

<sup>426</sup> Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Society for Coloizing the Free People of Color of the Untied States; Fourteenth Annual Report of the American Society for Coloizing the Free People of Color of the Untied States.

<sup>427</sup> Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*,

beginnings of the largest wave of Free People of Color began. In 1848 alone, the number would shoot up from the fifteen the year before to fifty-five. While nothing compared to the high of 353 in 1853, the dawning of the Republic renewed interest.<sup>428</sup> The ACS that had only the year before been attempting to separate themselves from the colony, now gladly acted as if the constitution never happened. Their place in Liberia was always about raising money to go to Liberia.

Even the annual state African American Conventions that began partly to defeat colonization saw an uptick in support among their members. As one conference-goer said, he was tired of "looking up to the white man for everything."<sup>429</sup> The state conventions were unsettled by this increase in "emigrationists" for Liberia. The bedrock of the organizations had been to defeat both slavery and recolonization. As another convention-goer stated, "Go to Liberia ... see how the founders of this scheme will treat you."<sup>430</sup> By the next year's convention, the organizers were ready to allow some compromise. The keynote speech which would be reprinted across the country in white papers made the suggestion that would excite the white reader, "In event of universal emancipation ... we are willing, it being optional, to draw out from the American government, and form a separate and independent one."<sup>431</sup> The compromise would not meet the desires of those ready to give up on the nation, but it gave the white leadership control of the United States that they wished for, with the important caveat of it being optional even at that time.

Still, as the numbers suggest, it was only a small quantity at first. It took a by-product of another of Henry Clay's compromises to push the numbers into the hundreds starting in 1850.

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<sup>428</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>429</sup> Philip Sheldon Foner and George E. Walker, *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) 233.

<sup>430</sup> Foner and Walker, *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions*, 232.

<sup>431</sup> Foner and Walker, *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions*, 243.



The overall problem was the growth of new land gained through the Mexican American War of 1846-48. All of the lands south of the Mason-Dixon Line were slave states thanks to the 1820 Compromise. The former deal no longer worked for those who believed in limiting slavery. To change this ruling to one where each state could decide by vote for itself, a few other concessions had to be made. The most disastrous for the Free People of Color was a more stringent Fugitive Slave Law.<sup>432</sup> The reason that it was so important for the Free People of Color to stay in the United States was to ensure that their newly freed brethren coming north would have help in education and employment, whether they arrived legally or not. Some saw the compromise as a failure for the cause and thought that any attempt to stay would be useless.<sup>433</sup> On the other hand, if they went to Liberia and helped create a thriving economic center ruled by African Americans, they might be able to help with ending slavery, mimicking much of the thought process of the first colonization attempt under Granville Sharp as discussed in Chapter 2. The number of Free People of Color leaving the North increased steadily from 207 in 1850 to 327 in 1851 and climaxed in 1852 at 353.<sup>434</sup>

While the numbers increased for those from the North, the number that the southern states sent also increased. In 1848, there was an expansion of the Southern base of recolonization to South Carolina and Alabama, along with record numbers from Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. While South Carolina never had large numbers or state chapters, the ramifications of a separate nation for former slaves may have also led to the

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<sup>432</sup> Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016) 380-403.

<sup>433</sup> Andrew Diemer *The Politics of Black Citizenship: Free African Americans in the Mid-Atlantic Borderland, 1817-1863* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2016) 137-138.

<sup>434</sup> "Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States, 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458; Shick, Tom W., and Svend E. Holsoe. *Emigrants to Liberia, 1820 to 1843, an Alphabetical Listing*. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Department of Anthropology & Liberian Studies Association in America, 1971; American Colonization Society, *The African Repository*, Vol. 33 (1857); See Appendix A.

expansion. What is clear is the stories of other planters sending slaves to Liberia would appear now in every paper, and for the only time in the history of recolonization, the reports from the Deep South would be complimentary.<sup>435</sup>

John Gass appropriated \$2,000 for the passage to the Kentucky colony just south of the Maryland colony in West Africa for his former slaves. The amount also covered the expense "of tools & cooking materials, and keeping them six months after they are there."<sup>436</sup> He made it clear that additional lands were to be sold to cover the cost if that was not enough. The executors of his will showed great frustration that the former slaves insisted that they needed new clothing instead of spending the whole amount on purchasing a cotton-ginning machine, and they refused to follow out the last clause of his will of additional sale of land.<sup>437</sup>

### 7.3.1 White Money – The Americans

The new Republic promised to open up new opportunities to the white business and political community. Newspapers spent valuable print space discussing the various attributes of the situation. Along with the existing healthy market for “tobacco and powder” in Liberia, it pointed to other items supposedly catching on with the “natives, particularly beef, pork, and salt fish.”<sup>438</sup> For their part, Liberia offered rice, cotton, and sugarcane along with a virtual host of foods exotic at the time.<sup>439</sup> At the end of a half-page right-up in New York, an Anonymous businessman added that while “the commerce of Liberia is in its infancy... I am not exaggerating

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<sup>435</sup> *The Democrat* (Huntsville, Alabama)05 Oct 1854, Page 2;

<sup>436</sup> John Gass Will, Bourbon Co., Kentucky Probate Records, Book P: 432-434; estate of John Gass (1856) 432.

<sup>437</sup> *Lancaster Intelligencer* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania)05 Aug 1856, Page 2.

<sup>438</sup> *The Charleston Daily Courier* (Charleston, South Carolina)30 Jan 1849, Page 2; *The Sandusky Register* (Sandusky, Ohio) 04 Jun 1852, FriPage 2; *The Daily Republic* (Washington, District of Columbia)30 Jan 1851, Page 2.

<sup>439</sup> *The Memphis Daily Eagle* (Memphis, Tennessee)19 Sep 1849, Page 3; *The Evening Post* (New York, New York)30 Jul 1851, Page 2; *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky)15 Aug 1851, Back page.

when I say, that the trade advances at least fifty per cent annually.”<sup>440</sup> As 1851 began, the numbers looked promising. The reports of years of a great cotton crop had given way to a plethora of choices that, from the investor's viewpoint, was a good buy.

As the United States attempted to come to grips with expansion opportunities to the west, the removal of the black population to an independent nation across the Atlantic seemed to offer the desired release from the pressure of slavery and a smoother economic integration with British investors. With the first news of the creation of the Republic of Liberia, the calls for colonization also talked about the impact of Great Britain. Speaking to a Colonization meeting in Woodville, Mississippi in July of 1846, Dr. Winans (after assuring the audience that the death count was below average for such an endeavor) noted that “he knew but one objection and that was that the prosperity of the colony and its manifest capacity for becoming great and prosperous would excite the cupidity of Great Britain.”<sup>441</sup> The American societies fully expected Great Britain to step in and provide more support for the colony. British hold on the region had spread as they used the Sierra Leone port for connections that allowed them to continue to fight the slave trade while increasing the opportunities for other trade in the region. Each ship that went to one of the American colonies on the West African coast first stopped in Freetown for final supplies.<sup>442</sup> As new ACS chapters began to multiply, the economic and political answer seemed to be lining up to get the colony off the ground—they just had to get 3 million black-skinned people across the ocean.

The independent state chapter model had begun to spread across the country even as the national organization faltered. Illinois and Ohio had started new chapters even as the parent

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<sup>440</sup> *New York Daily Herald* (New York, New York) 18 Jan 1851, Back page.

<sup>441</sup> *Woodville Republican* (Woodville, Mississippi) 11 Jul 1846, Sat Front Page

<sup>442</sup> Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1994) 84.

organization was headed for implosion in 1845. Both had small chapters beginning in 1830, but when large numbers of migrants would not go, these particular chapters had fallen defunct. With the events of the late 1840s and early 1850s, Ohio and Illinois both expanded to having four separate chapters based in different parts of each state.<sup>443</sup> Even though Ohio had abolished slavery in 1802, the state's relationship with the slavery question was not completely clear. An active anti-slavery society and the famous Oberlin College ensured that there would always be a voice for emancipation, but others in the state only wished to be rid of African Americans altogether. By 1853 the new Know-Nothing party had a broad base of support in the state. The organization stood as an anti-foreign group that thought while slavery was socially “wrong,” the problem with the institution was that it would take away from the white population's ability to succeed.<sup>444</sup> Although not rabidly anti-slavery, they fell into this middle ground of wishing not only slavery would end, but that the African Americans would leave. By 1860, the state would instead have no fewer than twenty-five petitions to stop all black immigration into the state.<sup>445</sup> The news of the Ohio petitions also reached across the country even as their favorite son was running for President as the most avid abolitionist candidate for the Republican ticket.<sup>446</sup>

Newspapers not only provide evidence of the spread of recolonization to a modern audience, but also of the increase of editorial support for it in the 1850s. Part of the change in the flow of information was thanks to the changes to technology. The printing press itself would go through a dramatic change from each copy being done painstakingly on a flatbed printer to a

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<sup>443</sup> *Forty fourth Annual Report American Oclonization Society* (1861) 14, 41.

<sup>444</sup> Steven E. Maizlish “Know-Nothing Movement in the Antebellum North” in William E. Gienapp, Stephen E. Maizlish, and John J. Kushma, *Essays on American Antebellum Politics, 1840-1860* (College Station: Published for the University of Texas at Arlington, by Texas A & M University Press, 1982) 171-179.

<sup>445</sup> *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois) 17 Jul 1860, TuePage 1; *Forty fourth Annual Report American Oclonization Society* (1861).

<sup>446</sup> *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, Michigan) 11 Mar 1860, Page 2; *The New York Times* (New York, New York) 31 Jul 1860, Page 2; *The Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi) 18 Apr 1860, Page 2.

cylindrical or rotary method that got papers to much faster and cheaper. This new method started in Edinburgh but spread quickly to London, but by the 1850s, little towns throughout the English-speaking world began to have the new presses.<sup>447</sup>

Even New England, the core of the abolitionist movement, saw a little increase in interest in recolonization. In Joanne Melish's 1998 work *Disowning Slavery*, she explores the role of the region during this period in recolonization. Far from returning to the old ways of looking at the financiers as benevolent but misguided, Melish argues that the ideals the American Colonization Society espoused reached "universal support" in New England not because of the rightness of the plan, but out of a desire to erase the region's history of slavery. She states that for New England's white population "the only way to account for the often-impooverished condition of people of color there was their innate inferiority; at the same time, this conclusion enabled most whites to disclaim social responsibility for that status."<sup>448</sup> Colonizationists masked their racist desires by their hospitality as the former slaves left for Liberia. They worried that the Free People of Color would bring "immorality, Africanization and backward agriculturalism to Massachusetts."<sup>449</sup>

Emboldened by the expanded support and the expanding number of Free People of Color willing to go, the ACS sought to profit off of the moment. The Indiana state chapter passed a pro-colonization referendum through in 1852, calling for "gradual emancipation and colonization."<sup>450</sup> Other chapters would do the same from St Louis to New York as 1852 spread

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<sup>447</sup> Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe ; Volumes I and II*. (Cambridge Press, 2009).

<sup>448</sup> Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery; Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 3.

<sup>449</sup> Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery; Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 217.

<sup>450</sup> *Princeton Clarion-Leader* (Princeton, Indiana) 10 Jul 1852, Front page; *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana) 28 Jul 1852, Page 4; Philip W. Magnuss and Sebastian N. Page. *Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2018) 13.

into 1853, even as the number of colonists began to decline from Northern states. While newspapers and other publications trumpeted the praises of recolonization, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had an outsized presence in conversations of the slavery question. Stowe's work helped to spread the popularity of recolonization amongst the white population and emboldened states to increase measures of support. Also, the memory of Henry Clay may have played one final part in supporting the expansion of colonization. When he died in July of 1852, his will freed his slaves with funds made available to pay for their passage to "one of the African Colonies."<sup>451</sup>

Even as the instrumental founder of the ACS died, one of his former followers rose to prominence partially based on his support for recolonization. Abraham Lincoln had served one term in Congress and gone home to Springfield, Illinois, to continue his law practice when he was asked to give the eulogy for Henry Clay in 1852. In the eulogy, Lincoln professed his commitment to Clay's credo, specifically gradual emancipation combined with colonization. If slavery could be eliminated, and the slaves returned to "their long-lost fatherland," claimed Lincoln, "it will indeed be a glorious consummation."<sup>452</sup> He continued to gain attention in Illinois as he gave two addresses before the state colonization chapter in 1853 and 1855. Lincoln, long known for his savvy political behavior, did not join the organization but lauded their attempts. He positioned himself as the outsider candidate for office even as the first Republican ticket stood against colonization and slavery.<sup>453</sup> He also had no problem with the number of

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<sup>451</sup> Henry Clay The last Will and Testament of Henry Clay, July 10, 1851 (Codicil Novemeber 14, 1851). Accessed at <https://henryclay.org/henry-clays-will/>.

<sup>452</sup> Lincoln *Collected Works*, 2:132; The New York Times (New York, New York)22 Jun 1852, Page 2.

<sup>453</sup> *The Rock Island Argus* (Rock Island, Illinois)22 Jul 1856, Page 2.

republished accounts of his speeches.<sup>454</sup> Lincoln would become President in large part because of the newspaper coverage of later speeches when he was running for senator from Illinois in 1858.

The promise of the American colonies on the West African coast inspired a series of lithographs in 1853.<sup>455</sup> The exhibit of lithographs corresponded with a government report compiled during an exploratory excursion to the west coast of Africa. Two of the lithographs were reprinted and sold, eventually showing up in *Harper's Weekly*. Both Lithographs show the promise of Liberia rather than the reality. (Fig. 2) clearly shows an African man introducing new

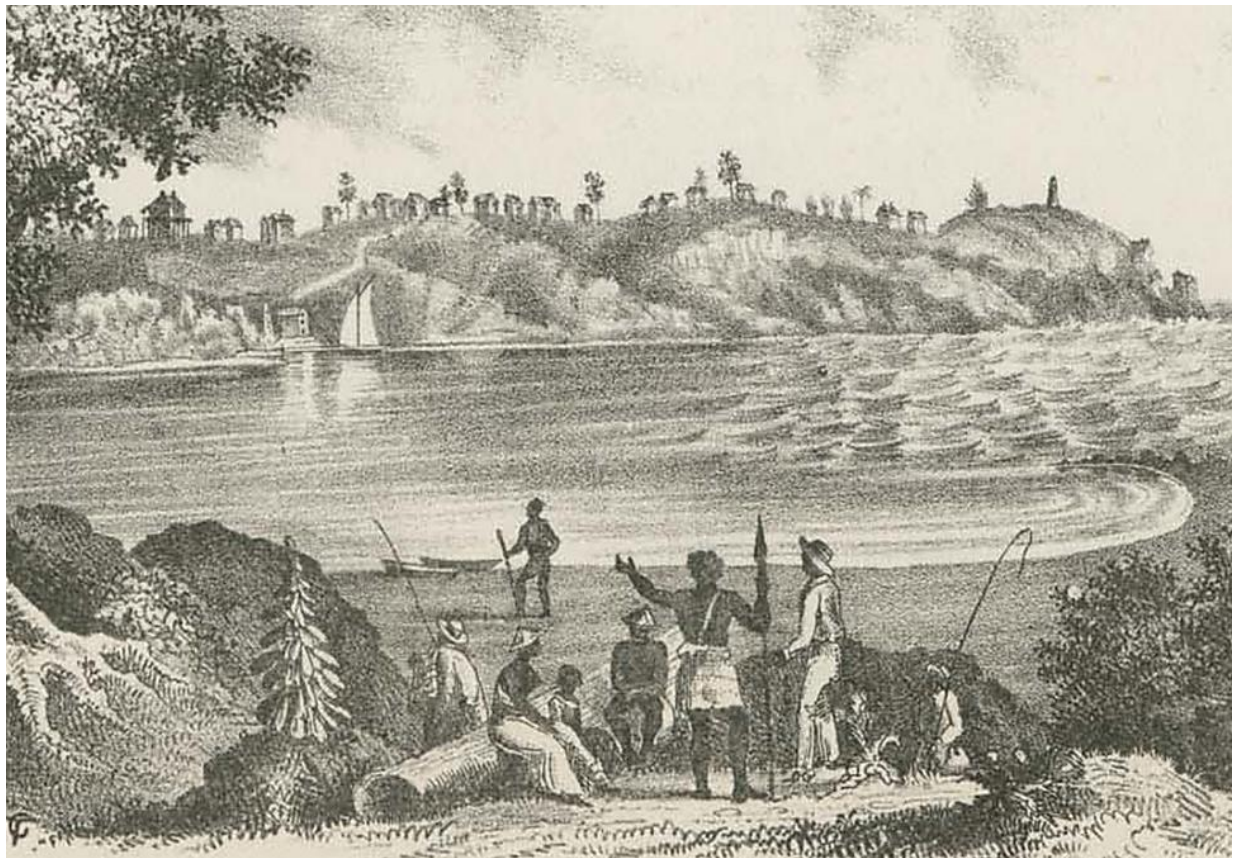


Figure 27 Wagner & McGuigan, Cape Palmas from "Views of Liberia" in "W. F. Lynch Report of Mission to Africa," Senate Executive Documents, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, Part 3, Vol. 1, Doc. 1 (1853). Crayon lithograph.

colonists to their new home at Cape Palmas that is portrayed as a large group of edifices perched

<sup>454</sup> *Mount Carmel Register* (Mount Carmel, Illinois) 07 Feb 1855, Page 2.

<sup>455</sup> "Views of Liberia" in "W. F. Lynch Report of Mission to Africa," Senate Executive Documents, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, Part 3, Vol. 1, Doc. 1 (1853). Crayon lithograph.



on a cliff above the bay. While the Maryland colony was centered at Cape Palmas, it was far from having more than two significant structures, the Maryland Colonization Office and a church. While an indigenous individual could have been involved in showing colonists around, the garb that he is placed in is more reminiscent of the image of Columbia, a figure used in the United States for showing the unification of the Americas in the form of a Native American goddess, named ironically after the first European explorer.<sup>456</sup> The lithographer presents a native of Africa as the male version, linking the founding of Liberia with the founding of America.

The other lithograph to survive shows the seat of government for the new President of Liberia. The house, built by the ACS for the Governor in 1840, was in reality much less

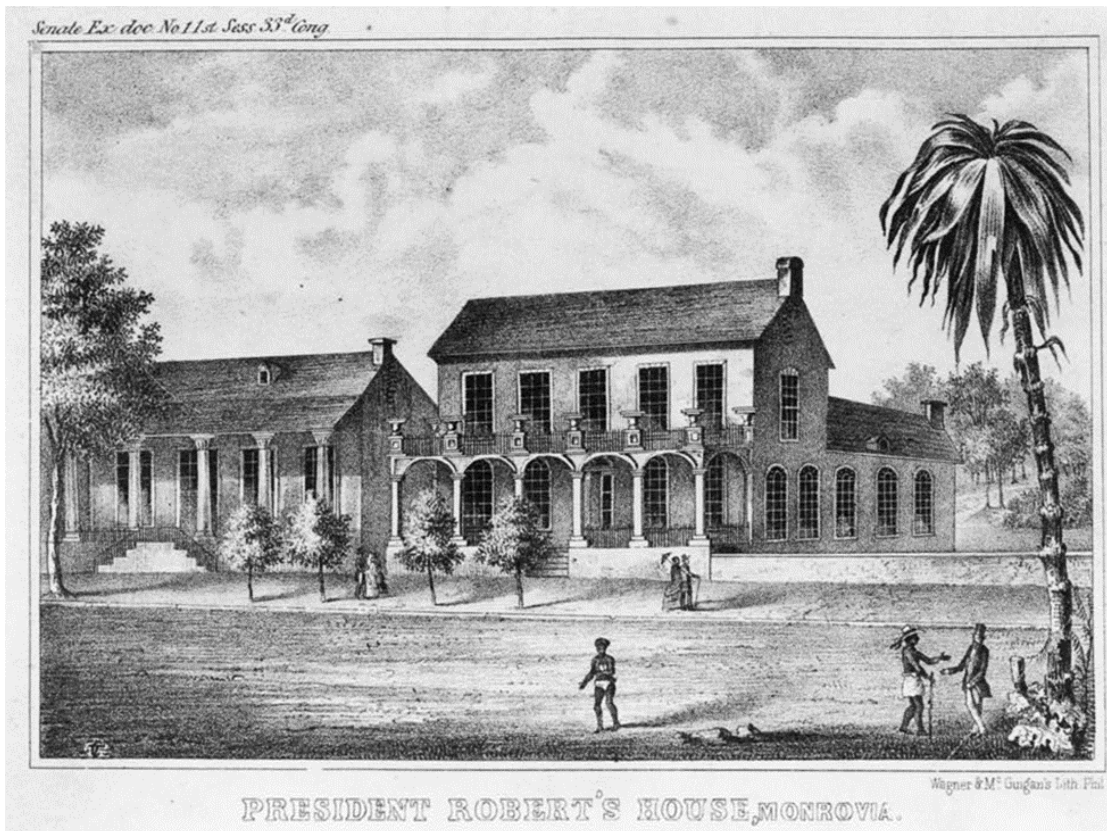


Figure 28 "President Robert's House" Monrovia / Wagner & McGuigan's Lithograph, Philadelphia PA. Liberia Monrovia. [Between Anda 1905] (1853). Crayon lithograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/93505618/>.

prominent than shown in the lithograph. The image instead conjures up views of the latest

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<sup>456</sup> "Western Hemisphere" in *A Map Of North America*, Anthony Finley (1827); A Fred J. Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America* (Baltimore, M.D.: The John Hopkins Press, 1929) xi



Italianate design in vogue during the 1850s, with a well-manicured boulevard worthy of one of America's leading cities. The report came as the government debated the success of colonization programs and the campaign would finally stoop to a new low in their desperation to ensure that the Blacks would leave and create a network that would save the white man as the end of slavery through one means or another loomed on the horizon.

Some southern states used the expansion of national attention of colonization to push for expulsion of the expanding number of Free People of Color in their midst. In 1855, Louisiana set in motion a series of draconian measures to stem the growth of the Free People of Color in the state. Banned from assembling or forming organizations, they were encouraged to move to West Africa. The law also stipulated that if a slave was freed in the state, they must go to Liberia. This proved expensive for the state as they had not written into the law who would pay for the shipping of these former slaves. Faced with the expense of shipping the former slaves themselves, the state outlawed any kind of emancipation in 1857.<sup>457</sup> The viewpoint of the South, according to one northern sympathizer, was that slavery was still the best answer as alternatives were a “vicious free negro of the North or the liberated barbarian of the tropics.”<sup>458</sup>

The Northern states at this time definitely showed an interest in removing Free People of Color with old chapters such as Virginia still sending record numbers of colonists and new chapters popping up on the western periphery in Iowa.<sup>459</sup> Even in the far-off West, the commentary was decidedly in favor of recolonization. When announcing the increasing number going in 1853, the *Oregon Statesman* professed aggravation with the lack of wholesale support

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<sup>457</sup> No 308 An Act relative to Slaves and Free Colored Persons. 1855 377 (1855), No 198 - An Act making appropriations for the General Expenses of the State for the fiscal year ending thirty-first of March, eighteen hundred and fifty-seven. 1856 209 (1856), and No 69 - An Act to prohibit the emancipation of Slaves. 1857 55 (1857) Louisiana Law Code. Accessed at <https://home.heinonline.org/>

<sup>458</sup> David R. Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (New York: Henry B. Price Publisher, 1860) 67.

<sup>459</sup> See Appendix A; The Iowa Society is in newspapers having begun in 1855, but only has reports back to the ACS beginning after the Civil War; *Vermont Chronicle* (Bellows Falls, Vermont)25 Dec 1855, Page 4.

from Free People of Color, “A prejudice exists in the mind of our colored population” against the projects of the white population.<sup>460</sup> Not willing to broach recognizing a black republic in West Africa or Haiti, the government did try to expand trade with Liberia. Advocates in Congress pushed for a steamship line for direct commerce and to serve as part of the U.S. Navy.<sup>461</sup> Possibly the last thing politically uniting southerners and northerners, recolonization would leap along with extensive advertising, but with sinking numbers of colonists.

#### 7.4.1 Black Skin – Resistance

On the surface, the propaganda campaign seemed to be coming to its full fruition with the number of colonists going reaching new heights, but the cracks in this facade were visible beneath the surface. The campaign to stop the Colonization Society consumed anti-slavery societies. In the spring of 1849, a large meeting of Africa Americans met in New York Society to bring out the problems with Liberia for black-skinned people. The meeting offered a repeat of the many previous such that the Colonization Society was “recreant to the cause of human freedom”<sup>462</sup> William Lloyd Garrison would gain prominence in the American newspapers for his avid call that no one in the United States could be free until emancipation freed every man.<sup>463</sup>

In 1851, the ACS was bringing in \$100,000 in that year alone, and the opportunities of West Africa seemed boundless. As mentioned earlier, the Free People of Color in the North were split on the question. However, by 1854 the numbers of them going ceased. Looking at the overall numbers of colonists have led historians to see the decline in support as gradual, but

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<sup>460</sup> Weekly Oregon Statesman (Salem, Oregon)15 Jan 1853, SatPage 2

<sup>461</sup> Brandon Mills, “Situating African Colonization within the History of U.S. Expansion” in Beverly C. Tomek, ed., Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller, *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017) 178.

<sup>462</sup> Anti-Slavery Bugle (Lisbon, Ohio)18 May 1849, Fri Page 1

<sup>463</sup> Caleb W. McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

when taking out the Southern Free People of Color who, as shown in chapter 5 were almost always tied to an enslaved family, the drop off in support coincides with the summer of 1853. Several different events happened that year that would have created this stance against recolonization.

The timing of Stowe's work may have been perfect for gaining support among the white recolonizationists, but its popularity also coincides with the sharp drop off of support among Free People of Color. Two different interactions may explain the ill will that the book began to send through the community in 1853. At an annual meeting of the anti-slavery society in New York, the talk devolved to a litany of the evils of the viewpoint of the book on colonization after a German man rose to excitedly tell the crowd of the translation of the book into his native language. Stowe was not in attendance, but one of her friends said that he had talked at great length about the troublesome last chapter. Stowe had told the African American friend at the event that she thought she was building a bridge between the two ideas of emancipation and colonization as Liberia was a "fixed fact" and opinions of the problems associated with the popularity of the book and recolonization did not matter.<sup>464</sup> Stowe even conceived of the novel and the connection to recolonization as working to elevate and dignify black-skinned people "in the eyes of the lofty and contemptuous Saxon."<sup>465</sup>

Stowe did not manage to avoid having a personal conflict over the matter. Frederick Douglas, when invited to her home for a gathering, appeared to have angered her with his comments about the matter.<sup>466</sup> Douglas, one of the best known free black spokespeople during the

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<sup>464</sup> American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. *The Thirteenth Annual Report of the American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society: Presented at New-York, May 11, 1853 : with the Addresses and Resolutions*. New-York: Am. & For. Anti-slavery Society, 1853.

<sup>465</sup> American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. *The Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1853.

<sup>466</sup> Frederick Douglass and Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Vol. 1* (New York: International Publishers, 1975).

antebellum years, was born a slave ca. 1817. After he ran away, Douglass tirelessly fought for emancipation and full citizenship for African Americans. Despite the failure of earlier African American newspapers, Douglass founded the *North Star* in December 1847.<sup>467</sup> The masthead contained the motto: “Right is of no sex; truth is of no color, God is the Father of us all—and all are brethren.”<sup>468</sup> In 1851, it merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* and soon changed its name to the *Frederick Douglass Paper*. A contemporary African American journalist observed that Douglass's ability as a newspaper editor and publisher did more for the “freedom and elevation of his race than all his platform appearances.”<sup>469</sup>

Douglas used his voice to become a vehement supporter of ignoring recolonization as an option in order to reach the real goal of emancipation. His view of colonization as the problem was summarized in his newspaper, *The Douglass Monthly*, in 1859: “Upon no consideration do we intend that our paper shall favor any schemes of colonization, or any measures the natural tendency of which will be to draw off the attention of the free colored people from the means of improvement and elevation here . . . we are Americans; America is our native land; this is our home; we are American citizens.”<sup>470</sup>

As an ever-multiplying number of southern planters such as Gass continued to prop up the numbers of colonists, a faction of the African Americans stuck with the idea of West African immigration as the best answer. Martin Delany would return to his old ideas of separate immigration for African Americans, but this time he solidified his ideas enough to both publish a book in support of emigration and move in 1858.<sup>471</sup> The supporters of West African emigration were still in the minority throughout the 1850s. The promise of reaching their goal of

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<sup>467</sup> Ousmane K. Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle Against the Colonization Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2014) 115, 120.

<sup>468</sup> *The North Star* (Rochester, NY) Jan. 16 1851. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84026365/1851-01-16/ed-1/>.

<sup>469</sup> *The Rising Sun*, Frederick Douglass and Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Vol. 1* (New York: International Publishers, 1975) 93.

<sup>470</sup> Frederick Douglas, *The Douglas Monthly*, 1859.

<sup>471</sup> Martin Robison Delany and Jerome J. McGann *Blake or, The Huts of America A Corrected Edition* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.

emancipation began to look more like a reality as the pressure of slavery on the system caused several dramatic and famous moves towards emancipation.

### 7.5.1 White Money – The British Empire

The imperial centers' interest in West Africa continued to cause a problem with the support of universal emancipation. The British saw excellent commercial prospects in the Republic of Liberia.<sup>472</sup> That trade and long-range projects that had so far come to nothing failed to deter the government of Queen Victoria from recognizing Liberia as an independent nation in 1848, a move that the United States would take fifteen years to follow. The first president of the new nation made newspaper headlines on both sides of the ocean when in August of 1849, he traveled to England to meet and sign a treaty with the Queen herself.<sup>473</sup> The web of interest continued to grow for the British Empire throughout the region and the agreement that left Britain able to dock any naval force in the African American port sent a new wave of British businessmen rushing to set up networks and talk of new colonies at Cape Palmas, south of the American colonies.

Even as the British found ways into Liberia, Americans were still trying to get the British on their side. Frederick Douglass would go himself to Great Britain to secure support for emancipation. To effectively fulfill his desires, support for recolonization among the English also had to disappear. Cresson was still hard at work in England, seeking financial support as late as 1849. However, he ran into a persistent problem with the anti-slavery advocates from the United States popping up at meetings. Charles Lenox Remond told gleefully of appearing at the back of

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<sup>472</sup> London Morning Post - Thursday 10 April 1851

<sup>473</sup> The Morning Post (London, Greater London, England)08 Aug 1849, Page 3; The Baltimore Sun (Baltimore, Maryland)16 Dec 1848, Page 2; The Charleston Mercury (Charleston, South Carolina)30 Aug 1849, Page 2.

a meeting of fifteen thousand assembled to hear Cresson speak. Cresson knew him from 1840 and did everything that he could to keep him from speaking, but in the end, Remond had his say. As seems planned, a friend of his in the audience began the call for a debate between the two, but Cresson “would not condescend to discuss’ with someone “exhibiting such a spirit.”<sup>474</sup>

### 7.6.1 Results

After four years of dwindling numbers, a new impetus for recolonization seemed to be on the horizon in 1858. The African American community and the growing white abolitionist adherents became despondent over the Supreme Court ruling against Dred Scott that as a slave he did not, in fact, have the rights of a human being.<sup>475</sup> It seemed clear to many that they had lost the battle for equality in their own nation. A new swell of support for immigration to Liberia seemed likely to follow.

Some white supporters believed that the problem was the reputation of the ACS itself. In response, Benjamin Coates, a Quaker businessman with strong ties to Liberia, set out to form another organization to be named the African Civilization Society. When asked why he supported recolonization after the Civil War, he referenced his childhood readings of the exciting world of exploration of the interior of Africa during the late eighteenth century, the maps of the thrilling continent, and his belief in God.<sup>476</sup> However, the pamphlet that he published to gain support for the new organization was not primarily a product of religious zeal or of the desire to seek out the unknown. Entitled simply *Cotton Cultivation in Africa*, the pamphlet and the news

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<sup>474</sup> *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Lisbon, Ohio) 18 May 1849, Page 1

<sup>475</sup> Mark A. Graber, *Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 26-57.

<sup>476</sup> Benjamin Coates and Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America 1848-1880* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2007) 184-185.

about the society centered on the creation of a new avenue of producing the number one crop of the American South in West Africa, cotton.<sup>477</sup>

Coates did not waste time with raising white support. Using his credibility as a Quaker, he had started earlier in the decade to develop an extensive trading network with Liberia by leveraging a personal correspondence with the President of the country.<sup>478</sup> He used this as a credential when seeking direct support from African American leaders. He even tried unsuccessfully to gain the support of Frederick Douglass. While Douglass politely turned him down, other African American leaders were willing to at least talk about the plan, as the same idea of a separate black nation supported by many before still held traction. One of the leaders to give support to the plan, Mary Shad Cary, warned though that “the matter cannot be to forcibly urged” because of “the old prejudice against the name ‘Colonization’” among the colored people in the United States as well as Canada, where she lived.<sup>479</sup> Coates decried that the new organization only sought to strangle the south’s hold on the important commodity of cotton to end slavery. Unlike the ACS with its long-term support in the south, the new organization pledged opposition to slavery, racial oppression, or mass deportation.

Coates even alluded to support from the old source of Great Britain in his pamphlet. He included documents from the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester, England, that voiced support for such an attempt. They thought that the soil of an inland region of West Africa, known as the Yoruba land, would create high-grade cotton that would be superior to that cultivated in

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<sup>477</sup> *The Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts)19 Nov 1858, Page 2; *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois)23 Nov 1858, Page 2; Emma J Lapsansky-Werner ed., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005) 32-33.

<sup>478</sup> Emma J Lapsansky-Werner ed., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

<sup>479</sup> Mary Ann Shadd Cary to Benjamin Coates, Chatham, Canada West, November 20, 1858, in Emma J Lapsansky-Werner ed., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

the American South. The imagination of the international financiers had jumped far eastward into the continent. The British organization was careful to say that more research must be done before investment, but Coates ran with the idea defending that such an important connection would ensure that this would undermine the control that southern cotton production and thus slavery had on the international market.<sup>480</sup>

Coates's claim may have found some backing because of the perception that the greatest problem in West Africa had been solved. In 1857 the news was repeated across the English-speaking world from London to Utah that an answer had been found to the dreaded death toll of those that relocated to West Africa. White missionaries had found that the answer lay in reinterpreting the West African practice of filling their homes with smoke. Articles clearly made fun of the Africans for this practice even as they reported on its supposed effectiveness for the natives. The practice to be made fun of for its religious bases in the African tradition of filling huts with smoke at night had been embraced by the whites, and they now had “entire immunity from the tropical fevers to which they were formerly subjected.”<sup>481</sup> Even as the whites insulted the locals and purported to have found the answer through scientific advancement, they did not realize that the practice merely warded off the mosquito that caused (some of) the problems, but instead concluded that the smoke created a type of immunity that somehow they thought would last the individual the for the rest of their lives.

With the first news of renewed interest among the African American community, the white centrists of the north set out to support new colonization efforts. Unlike in previous efforts, the splintering of support across multiple organizations and the increase in tensions about slavery

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<sup>480</sup> Benjamin Coates and Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America 1848-1880* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2007) 141-42, .

<sup>481</sup> *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah)10 Mar 1858, Page 7.



led the new administration in Washington under James Buchanan to embrace and fund the Republic of Liberia. They would not do this directly as the government still hesitated to recognize the republic as a full nation. Such a full-scale adoption might undermine the power of the ACS as a part of their client nation like Great Britain; instead, they looked to the British for another avenue of supporting West African recolonization.

As quickly as Coates's African Civilization Society formed, it died. Coates had failed to admit to the African American leaders that the organization's affiliations and financing came not only from British connections, but from the very organization they all railed against—the ACS. Coates tried to argue that the old organization was only to be used for its financial backing and connections to the government of Liberia. He pointed to the many inroads this had afforded him, not only in Liberia but supposedly in Yoruba, a hinterland area of modern Benin and Nigeria hundreds of miles from any of the previous activity.<sup>482</sup> Douglas in a final answer made it clear in his newspaper when he published a letter he wrote to an African American who continued to support the organization that when he encouraged the other man to “go there” if that was where he felt the best answer was, but he would “stay here.”<sup>483</sup> Without black support, the organization never became more than Coates and a few friends who continued to be involved in the ACS. Even after the Civil War, Coates still believed that the African American community would shortly start a wholesale move on their own “back to Africa” now that slavery had ended.<sup>484</sup>

On November 29, 1858, the *London Morning Advertiser* ran an ad for the new exhibit at Madame Tussaud's of a portrait taken from life of J. J. Roberts to add to the “collection of

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<sup>482</sup> Benjamin Coates to Ralph R. Gurley, Philadelphia, January 13, 1859, , in Emma J Lapsansky-Werner ed., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

<sup>483</sup> “African Civilization Society,” *Douglas Monthly*, February 1859, .

<sup>484</sup> Benjamin Coates to Ralph R. Gurley, Philadelphia, January 13, 1859, , in Emma J Lapsansky-Werner ed., *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

celebrated characters.”<sup>485</sup> Roberts had been “elected by the people President of Liberia.” In truth, he was still largely a puppet of the American Colonization Society, yet the white population touted his election as a symbol of progress on segregation and expansion into Africa. Only a few months before, newspapers in England and the Northern states told the disgusting story of the resale of men recolonized to Liberia by the same President J. J. Roberts.<sup>486</sup> This did nothing to dispel the White interest in the efforts in West Africa. Roberts’ inclusion at Madam Tussaud’s in London demonstrated the continuance of the campaign even in England, but the 1860s efforts to expand colonizing focused on the other side of the Atlantic.

Even as newspapers announced the return of Dr. Livingstone in England from his first trip to Africa, the economy of the slave trade was creating the needed “free” wage labor and preparing the way for the British exploration across the continent of Africa.<sup>487</sup> The interest in London for colonization had disappeared with the advent of medical technologies that had nothing to do with skin color offered an answer to the problems of tropical disease. The Madame Tussaud’s exhibit was only a part of President Roberts's attempts to capitalize on the desire for trade in London as well as the United States that was already in its heyday.

### 7.6.2 The Last Gasp

The U.S. election of 1860 was a watershed event, and advocates of recolonization saw their best hopes go to the White House. Abraham Lincoln was elected with a split across the different factions, and as a result the Southern states were ready to separate from the nation over

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<sup>485</sup> November 29, 1858 *London Morning Advertiser* Page 1

<sup>486</sup> *The Buffalo Daily Republic* (Buffalo, New York)02 Jul 1858, Fri Page 2; Anti-Slavery Bugle (Lisbon, Ohio)18 May 1849, Fri Page 1 - 2; Benjamin Coates and Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America 1848-1880* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2007) 108-109.

<sup>487</sup> *Manchester Weekly Times and Examiner* (Manchester, Greater Manchester, England)01 May 1858, SatPage 5;

their major differences from the North. Southerners in leaving the union were quick to blame the United States for Liberia. States that still had chapters of the ACS had newspaper reports about the latest “American scheme” to abuse African Americans.<sup>488</sup>

The imagining by whites of a colony for former slaves would have one ultimate purpose in the story of the abolishment of chattel slavery. During the Civil War the legacy of the struggling white dream still was a possibility for the removal of the formerly subjugated people that had served as capital. Some in the Black community would turn around and come home to fight in the war that they saw the glimmer of removing the need to find their own country. The opening of segregation after the war would thwart black dreams of equality at home. At the same time, the white population would slowly realize that the hoped-for black self-removal would never happen in the large size they had hoped for. As a result, the historiographical use of colonization as the leading edge of white leadership in the abolition of slavery would be sidelined to the dustbin of history.

The period of the American Civil War saw people unperturbed by the lack of success in Liberia, but a renewed interest across the North of a place to send all of the former slaves when the war was over continued to make news. Meanwhile, Martin Delany took his fateful journey to Liberia, but this chapter calls into question whether it is fair to say that he failed and came back to the United States as much as he saw the new chapter in the fight would be helped more by his returning and fighting in the war.

The English followed the political exchange of the Civil War with almost as much interest as Americans. In late April of 1862, as articles spoke of interest in money, battles, and dramatic stories, two points of information recurred regularly in reports. One was that congress

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<sup>488</sup> “The times and Habitation of Nations” in *Montgomery Weekly Mail* (Montgomery, Alabama) 26 Apr 1861, Page 6

had started the process of emancipation in Washington DC. Far from full emancipation, it seemed to point to a willingness of the federal government to use such measures in the future in other territories. It also did so with partial compensation to the owners, following the format that Britain had taken to abolition. The second piece was the part colonization played in the debates. Indiana Senator Doolittle made news by saying he would not vote for the emancipation bill unless it had reciprocal funding for colonization. He argued that while in the temperate zone, the Caucasian would always dominate “in the tropics the colored race is dominant. This is nature’s law. The repugnance in America to living side by side with negroes is not, as claimed by some, mere prejudice, but a true instinct of nature.”<sup>489</sup> It was instead their duty to encourage emigration to Haiti, Liberia, or somewhere else that could be found on the map. One hundred thousand dollars was given to pay for and District of Columbia Blacks that wished to emigrate to Liberia. As the news came to the papers, other pieces reported the new President of Liberia, Benson, had landed in Liverpool with a haul of gold from West Africa.<sup>490</sup>

After the failure of Lincoln’s colonization attempt in 1862, the realization that colonization would not work seemed to spread even as the nation was at war. In Utah, a columnist wrote a very accurate picture of the situation.

Liberia and Hayti [sic] are yet the only countries to which colonies of African Descent could go with a certainty of being received and adopted as citizens; and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to emigrate to these countries as to some others, nor as willing as I think their interest demands. I believe, however, that the opinion is improving, and then ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both of these countries from the United States.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> *Bell's Weekly Messenger* 05 April 1862; *London Evening Standard* 18 April 1862;

<sup>490</sup> *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17 April 1862; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17 April 1862; *Limerick Reporter* Limerick, Ireland; *Downpatrick Recorder* 19 April 1862; *Bell's Weekly Messenger* 12 April 1862; *Bell's Weekly Messenger* 19 April 1862; *The Atlas* 19 April 1862; *Hamilton Advertiser* (Lanarkshire, Scotland) Saturday 19 April 1862; *Penny Dispatch and Irish Weekly Newspaper* 19 April 1862; *Tablet* (London) 19 April 1862.

<sup>491</sup> *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah) 10 Dec 1862, Front Page; *The Washington Standard* (Olympia, Washington) 15 Jul 1865, Front Page.

The haphazard nature of the ACS and the predominance of their propaganda outlet, *The African Repository*, have prevented the Civil War from being given much consideration in context of the subject. Recent work by historians Phillip Magness and Sebastian Page has highlighted the role of Abraham Lincoln as a subscriber to the overall idea of colonization, who wanted a cheaper version of moving by rejecting Africa for Central America.<sup>492</sup> The end of slavery saw the end of any new sizable effort to recolonize, giving way to the story of segregation and the scramble for Africa, respectively. This chapter argued the actual slow death of the effort was due to the African American refusal as they instead redoubled efforts to gain equality in the nation they were born. The economic interest in colonization waned; instead, a new scramble for the riches of Africa would be based on the British model of expanding trade on the backs of others.

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<sup>492</sup> Phillip W. Magness and Sebastian N. Page, *Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2018); Beverly C. Tomek, ed., Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller, *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2017).

Chapter 8  
THE END AND THE BEGINNING  
1863 – PRESENT



Figure 29 Illustration by Hammat Billings in Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853) Accessed at <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/>.

### 8.1.1 Epilogue

When William Lloyd Garrison died on May 24, 1879, newspapers across the country recorded eulogies, both positive and negative, of his many efforts to abolish slavery. His part in the defeat of recolonization became a hallmark of many eulogies.<sup>493</sup> Elizur Wright, a mathematics professor and founding member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, gave a eulogy of his friend reprinted in the local St Paul, Minnesota paper. In telling how Garrison was influential in his life, he presented the framework for remembering colonization. The United States, he wrote, "was ingenuously seduced into an African Colonization society, whereby all slaves who had grown seditious and troublesome to their masters could be replanted on the pestiferous African coast."<sup>494</sup> Wright spoke of the colonizationists as if they were as dangerous as the planters themselves. The land was "pestiferous" to cycle after cycle of colonists, reaching back ninety years, who had died on the shores of West Africa in larger numbers than they lived.

The frustration of the long abolitionist campaign to stop the colonizationist movement bleeds through as Wright speaks. "It was spoken of as the most glorious of Christian enterprise, had a monthly magazine devoted to itself, and taxed about every pulpit in the land for an annual sermon in its favor."<sup>495</sup> As Wright says, recolonizationists sold their idea through the use of religion and Christian theology. However, abolitionists alike sang from their pulpits that the real evil, slavery, would never end as long as recolonization cloaked itself in such a mantle while actually propping up slavery. "O, slavery then had us all by the throats."<sup>496</sup> Eulogizing the white newspaperman who refused anything but total abolition, maybe the reader can forgive Wright for

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<sup>493</sup> *The Observer* (Raleigh, North Carolina) 27 May 1879, Page 2; *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut) 02 Jun 1879, Page 2; *The Osage City Free Press* (Osage City, Kansas) 06 Jun 1879, Page 2; *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois) 02 Jun 1879, Page 5; *The New York Times* (New York, New York) 09 Jun 1879, Page 8.

<sup>494</sup> *The Saint Paul Globe* (Saint Paul, Minnesota) 02 Jun 1879, Front Page top left.

<sup>495</sup> *The Saint Paul Globe* 02 Jun 1879.

<sup>496</sup> *The Saint Paul Globe* 02 Jun 1879.

managing to give this long speech of the successes of defeating colonization once for all without once mentioning those at the center - the many friends of Garrison, who fought for equality and emancipation like Richard Allen, David Walker, Maria Stewart, and Frederick Douglas.

With the end of slavery came the de facto end of recolonization in the United States. Notwithstanding, newspapers joined a few supporters in reporting fanciful tales of "a new desire to emigrate to Africa" that sprang up "among the negroes all over the South" with "applications from nearly a hundred thousand for passage to Liberia."<sup>497</sup> While the immediate years following the war saw a small uptick in African American immigration to Liberia, even that would fall as the white population realized that it could no longer avoid a bi-racial society at home. A turn of thought prevalent across the United States, it unified the North and the South when very little tied them together. Once the need for the subterfuge of colonization as a moral good was gone, Southern papers felt free to report on attempts to colonize in this manner: "Thus it is that [when] radical schemes for duping the colored race have failed, others are formed."<sup>498</sup> This Alabama paper, quoted out of context, seemed to mimic the thoughts of Wright when discussing a move to populate Kansas as a scheme of colonization.

A small band of whites continued to hold out hope for a short time that a gigantic wave of African Americas would sign up to go "back to" a continent they had never been to, but by 1870 the funding for the organization had disappeared and the various state colonization societies with it. Instead, as the news reported on the disintegration of the chapters along racialized lines, African Americans fought the removal of any of their number who could be there to help their brothers in slavery in their transition once "freedom broke," as numerous recordings of former

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<sup>497</sup> *Yorkville Enquirer* (York, South Carolina)20 Nov 1879, Page 2.

<sup>498</sup> *The Eutaw Whig and Observer* (Eutaw, Alabama)24 Apr 1879, Page 2.



slaves refer to the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>499</sup> The enslaved could see in hindsight that there was pressure building on the system itself.

The 3,500 emigrants who went to Liberia from 1870 to 1893 did so thanks to the pressure of racism at home. Reconstruction quickly devolved into a system of segregation. Segregation would become the reality that replaced the recolonization movement. Instead of being separated by an ocean while supposedly being equal, Blacks and whites would be divided across train tracks or other imaginary lines throughout American cities. No longer did American business and political leaders need the imagined bounty of the African continent displayed in maps specially made for them or discussed in newspapers. Instead, the lack of promise of land ownership and the falseness of the promise of citizenship sent bands of former slaves from South Carolina, Arkansas, and across the South to the one option they saw left—Africa.<sup>500</sup>

What set the emigrationist movement that began in 1866 apart from recolonization was the support for such ventures by the white population. The central support for the later movement came from organizations reminiscent of the "black" chapter of the African Institute that Paul Cuffee spearheaded in his last attempt to develop a West African network during the early republic. However, these new colonists were no more African than the previous ones, and while they may have wished to make West Africa a better place, any Pan-Africanist loyalty was surpassed by their Americanism. The Americo-Liberians and the elite of Sierra Leone were constantly connected to the metropole for support as they subjugated the indigenous groups with

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<sup>499</sup> "Ex-slaves Stories (Texas)" *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 16, Texas, Part 3, Lewis-Ryles*. 1936. Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn163/>.

<sup>500</sup> Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

whom they shared little more than the color of their skin. Still, the historical record for a century pointed to the two resulting countries as beacons of civilization and "freedom."<sup>501</sup>

Britain, for her part, would play an integral part in the "Scramble for Africa" in which European countries used industrialized weapons of war to divide Africa amongst themselves in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Sierra Leone, which remained a crown colony until 1961, was instrumental in providing a port and supplies for British excursions across the continent and around the world. The British businessmen who supported the recolonization movement would continue to fall away from colonization into new projects. Some of these English entrepreneurs would fail again with the 1878 investment in Liberia, which would result in the country's first shockingly large debt and the beheading of that nation's president.<sup>502</sup>

The sun would not set on the British empire until the United States rose to power in the following century.<sup>503</sup> Liberia would act much as Sierra Leone had earlier for Great Britain, as the port through which American corporations, in the twentieth century, would take over the credit markets and raw materials of Liberia, from diamonds to rubber. The equipment, the desired resources, and the names of those involved had all changed, but the image of Africa as one homogeneous uncivilized land ripe for exploitation had not. The rubber giant, Firestone, would make the indigenous of Liberia work at a giant plantation, feeding the new desire of the twentieth century for tires. However, Liberia and Sierra Leone would not figure onto the front pages of papers across the English-speaking world again until they erupted in violent revolutions led by those same indigenous groups starting in the 1980s.<sup>504</sup> As of 2019, the cycle of exterior

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<sup>501</sup> James Ciment, *Another America: The Story of Liberia and the Former Slaves Who Ruled It* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014).

<sup>502</sup> "A Terra Haute Barber" *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee) 12 Jul 1874, Page 2.

<sup>503</sup> Mary Nolan, *The Transatlantic Century: Europe and the United States, 1890-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 30-35.

<sup>504</sup> Suzanne Kathleen McCoskey, "The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company and Liberia's Civil War" in *Business & Professional Ethics Journal* 33, no. 2 (2014): 253-280.

empires interjecting into Liberia and Sierra Leone still repeats, with Chinese loans paying Chinese contractors to build projects billed to the respective West African country.<sup>505</sup>

### 8.2.1 Conclusion

In his eulogy, Wright even admitted that, like Garrison, he had at first been "deluded" by the recolonization movement, "and the fact would put me in doubt of my own sanity at the time if I did not know that high statesmen, presidents of colleges, able editors... shared the same delusion."<sup>506</sup> These leaders had set out to raise Wright, and others, support for recolonization. The leadership and sponsorship of each association created a colony to relieve themselves of the economic burden that they predicted would follow emancipation. Granville Sharp set out to raise transatlantic support for his well-meaning solution of sending the "black poor" of London to start a colony on the west coast of Africa. William Thornton raised the cause to an elite set of bankers by working through the pamphlet campaigns then popular in London. The African Institute provided a constant stream of good stories for the public that also would reach across the ocean to give the Virginians enough evidence for another attempt.

Building on the efforts of their former colonial mother country which they wished to emulate, even after fighting it once again in the War of 1812, Henry Clay would guide all the leading figures of the United States to create another colony further down that same West African coast. Even as the organization almost imploded, another generation created a foundation for the plans to continue with maps from Anthony Finley and a British campaign of

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<sup>505</sup> Dionne Searcey and Jaime Yaya Barry, "One African Nation Put the Brakes on Chinese Debt. But Not for Long" in New York Times 23 Nov 2018. Accessed at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/23/world/africa/one-african-nation-put-the-brakes-on-chinese-debt-but-not-for-long.html>; "Hey Big Lender - A New Study Tracks the Surge in Chinese Loans to Poor Countries: Nearly Half of China's Credit is Hidden, and Much of it Goes to Vulnerable Borrowers" *The Economist* 13 Aug 2019. Accessed at <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2019/07/13/a-new-study-tracks-the-surge-in-chinese-loans-to-poor-countries>.

<sup>506</sup> *The Saint Paul Globe* 02 Jun 1879.

support that included the Prince Consort Albert. The people who backed the organization and profited off their association would not end their efforts until after the favorite son of the recolonization movement, Abraham Lincoln, was elected President in 1860. They had all spoken with one voice in support of recolonization, even as they framed it in different ways to reach their constituents. Supported by a vocal printing campaign that never went away, no matter the actual results of whichever colony existed at that moment, white leaders large and small found economic reasons to support recolonization as the answer to how an enslaved commodity could become free labor without destroying the fragile economic systems of the United Kingdom and her former colonies in North America.

Each preceding association set out not only to provide a humanitarian answer, but to profit through moral capitalism. Attempting to enact the same vision of economic expansion into West Africa as Henry Smeathman, William Thornton and the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers of Great Britain hoped to find a path into profiting from Africa without the volatile product of slavery. Instead of reporting the failure of Sierra Leone to attract large numbers of Blacks from England or its colonies, the British switched to a campaign to stop slave-trading ships and control the seas, resulting in a constant flow of ship captives beginning their lives over in Sierra Leone instead of their former homes further south down the coast of Africa. Faced with the outcome of the War of 1812, the leaders of the United States needed somewhere to send Free People of Color, somewhere separate but equal to the great westward expansion they planned for European immigrants. America's expansion of English-speaking colonies on the coast of West Africa caused visions of more English colonies along the coast to be entertained by other British people in business and empire-building as a means to relieve their expected losses in Jamaica and other slave colonies as Britain bent to the will of the slave

population and finally outlawed slavery throughout the empire in 1833. The publications of the new Republic of Liberia, and the tidal wave of promise in the white minds of the expanding industrial North, promised a release for their moral conscience that would hopefully allow them to staunch the tide of Free People of Color in their communities and allow them to see a way to support abolishing the South's stranglehold on the economy and the barbarous system. As Great Britain and the United States sought to end the slave trade out of the same fear of being overrun by the black slave population economically if not physically, colonization of West Africa stood as a new route for economic wealth.

In the course of the preceding chapters, time and again, the firsthand knowledge of a new, dawning bi-racial society drove the white population to recolonization. The fear of a completely free and equal bi-racial society (that has arguably never arrived) was soothed at important moments by recolonization. Recolonization once again offered an imagined outlet for the English-speaking individuals' racism, so that they could do away with the dangerous and quarrelsome system of holding men and women in bondage by virtue of the color of their skin. The continuity of the colonization movement in the face of constant failures and changing characters testifies to the need in the white mind for recolonization as the ultimate answer to the question of what happens when "freedom breaks."

Through three failed attempts, Paul Cuffe tried to strike a balance between white desires and creating a network connecting America to Africa run by African Americans. By the 1830s, the new colony of Liberia acted as a pressure release for the South's new fear of the power of black ministers following the highly publicized revolt of Nat Turner. The ACS worked deftly to handle its failure in 1847 by setting the colony adrift as the new Republic of Liberia. The ACS's effort to release the failed colony turned into the largest increase in colonist.

However, the majority of black Americans would stay in the land of their birth. From Equiano's realization of the corruption and lack of respect for the Blacks as anything but a problem, as discussed in Chapter 2, to the black citizens of Washington DC who were offered city-wide emancipation and the promise of money to emigrate to avoid more problems with a bi-racial society, as discussed in Chapter 7, the majority of black people refused to go "back to Africa." The work of Olaudah Equiano, Richard Allen, David Walker, Mary Stewart, and Frederick Douglas to staunch the tide of African Americans to Liberia was not in vain.

While the endless rounds of propaganda in the newspapers about recolonization contributed to these problems, as discussed in detail throughout this dissertation, one fact should not be overlooked. Although recolonization was not an act of abolition, it was a requirement for each move forward in the fight to end slavery. Recolonization should be understood to have reached not just across the early history of Liberia, but in tandem with abolition. The whole of the transatlantic abolition movement needed it as an escape. No matter that it failed, first and foremost because of the shock of the new environment to the colonist's mind and body, each was replaced with another. Each time the white people involved in the leadership turned to the public for support, they wrapped the fears of the Other and of changing economic patterns in a cloak of morality and attempted to avoid the bursting of freedom across the subjugated. As presented in this dissertation, each time the black-skinned people at the center of the intended relocation overwhelmingly said no.

Past scholarly efforts to delve into one or more parts of the recolonization movement failed to account for the effects of the whole movement, much like the colonial ventures themselves. Modern digitization of exhaustive numbers of newspapers, pamphlets, and maps allowed this dissertation to look at the *longue durée* of the recolonization movement. In this

research, what historians have understood under the guise of two nations, each with a single colony, is shown to be a constant string of attempts and failures bound inextricably to the development of abolition. In the end, each of these campaigns to gain funding from white supporters, whether in London or St Louis, had an effect never acknowledged—if even realized—by the actors in this drama: despite its largely unreported failures, colonization allowed abolition to grow.

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OH-O6, H62qv.7 Ohio State Colonization Society, Meeting Minutes, 1827.  
OH-O6, H62q v.7, no. 2-3 Henry Noble Sherwood, pamphlets on colonization, 1851  
326-P19 no. 3 Robert Jefferson Breckenridge, address to Kentucky Colonization Society, 1831  
326-D513 Jacob Dewees, An essay on white man's duty to the black man, 1854

**McClurkin, Brenda, Personal Collection**

Gass, John, Will. Bourbon Co., Kentucky Probate Records, Book, vol 4-5, 432-434

**National Archives, Kew Gardens (UK)**

England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858  
PROB 31/809/115 - Exhibit: 1788/595. Joseph Irwin, of Mile End, New Town, parish of St Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex, 'in contract with the Government to land about 700 black people' in Sierra Leone [Committee for the Relief of Black Poor ], (died Sierra Leone, Africa). Probate inventory, or declaration, of the estate of the same, deceased  
PROB 11/1340/102 Description: Will of Samuel Milford, Banker of Exeter, Devon Date: 08 April 1800 Held by: The National Archives, Kew  
PROB 11/1387/207 Will of Edward Vaux, Merchant and Insurer of Austin Friars, City of London Date: 21 February 1803 Held by: The National Archives, Kew  
PROB 11: Will Registers 1808-1810 Piece 1472: Ely, Quire Numbers 1-53 (1808), John Elisha Tupper  
HO 42/76/55 Folio(s) 129-130. Letter from George Rose, [Vice-President of the Committee for Trade,] enclosing notes [not present] taken from Captain [Benjamin Hallowell's] evidence to the House of Commons on Sierra Leone which he regards as reliable. Rose contends that the promoters of the Sierra Leone scheme had failed, after twelve years, to demonstrate that colonization of the African coast could be profitable without slavery. – Jul 1830 – p 133 in my file NA\_UK\_HO42\_76  
CO 318/148 Miscellaneous letters from Individuals to Secretary of State. Especially William Huttman (forwards printed plan for 'civilisation of liberated negroes' drawn up by the Liberated Negroes' Civilization Society) - 1840  
CO 325/37 Colonial Office General Miscellanea, Precis, and Memoranda, Slave Trade  
CO 879/1/27 - Sierra Leone. Despatch from Governor Macdonald submitting a proposal for the colonisation of the Island of Bulama. (6 pages) Apr 1840  
PROB 11/1340/102 Description: Will of Samuel Milford, Banker of Exeter, Devon, 08 April 1800  
PROB 11/1387/207 Will of Edward Vaux, Merchant and Insurer of Austin Friars, City of London, 21 February 1803  
PROB 11/1756/361 Will of Thomas Boys, Combmaker, City of London, 20 June 1829  
ADM 1/4240-4250 Records of the Board of Admiralty, Letters from Secretaries of State  
ADM 3/199-248 Records of the Board of Admiralty, Rough Minutes  
CO 96/2-15 Colonial Office Gold Coast Correspondence  
CO 269/9-48 Sierra Leone Entry books  
Co 272/7 Sierra Leone Miscellanea  
CO 325/37 Colonial Office General Miscellanea, Precis, and Memoranda, Slave Trade  
CO 714/144 Colonial Office Index to Correspondence  
FO 2/3, 34- Foreign Office General Correspondence before 1906, Africa

BT 6/140, folders 34-35, William Frodsham to the Lords Committee of the Privy Council of Trade, Nov 30, 1787.

T 1/643, no. 681, f. 87 Equiano Protests,

T 1/634, no. 1903, f. 86, "The Choice of Sierra Leone,"

The Sir Joseph Banks Collection, UKA Control Number: rgs213282 Publisher: 1788-1811.

### **Religious Society of Friends Library, London**

TEMP MSS 11/4/13, Extract from the 'Morning Chronicle' concerning Paul Cuffee and negroes from Sierra Leone seeking freedom.

TEMP MSS 979, Louisa Hoare papers - copies of the 'Memoir of Samuel Hoare, Jr', presented to Priscilla Buxton Hoare on her wedding day on 4 September 1851.

Minute book (YM/MfS/M/39) 11 11mo (November) 1791-1 4mo (April) 1796 (1791 - 1796), item – Meeting for Sufferings - Ackworth School – Loads of stuff

Joseph John Gurney's autobiography (MS VOL S 32) 7 mo [July] 1837 (1837-07 - 1837-07), item

Journal of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 181) 1808-1818 (1808 - 1818), item

Journal of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 182) 1818-1827 (1818 - 1827), item

Journal of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 183) 1827-1837 (1827 - 1837), item

Journal of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 184) 1840-1847 (1840 - 1847), item

Journal of the readings, studies and literary labours of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 185) 1811-1837 (1811 - 1837), item

Journey in North America described in familiar letters to Amelia Opie from Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL S 356) 1837-1840 (1837 - 1840), item

Autobiography by Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL S 357) 1837 (1837 - 1837), item

Letters to John Joseph Gurney and Mary Gurney from Jonathan Hutchinson (MS BOX D3/3) 1817-1835 (1817 - 1835), item

Joseph John Gurney's journal of his third visit to the Continent (MS BOX D3/4)

15 4mo (April) 1843-29 8mo (August) 1843 (1843-04-15 - 1843-08-29), item

Daniel and Jane Wheeler correspondence (TEMP MSS 7/12) 1833 (1833 - 1833), file

Obituary of Joseph John Gurney (TEMP MSS 8b/8) 1847 (1847 - 1847), item

Account of the Appeal of Thomas Foster to Yearly Meeting by Joseph John Gurney (TEMP MSS 10/16) 1814 (1814 - 1814), item

Account of the death and funeral of Joseph John Gurney (TEMP MSS 11/31) no date [after 1847] (1847 - 1897), file

Correspondence concerning Gawen Ball, 'Premonitory Extracts selected from various authors of the Religious Society of Friends' (Bristol, 1918) (MS BOX K1/2) 1819-1837 (1819 - 1837), file

Letter from Hudson Gurney to Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (TEMP MSS 16/33) 14 iii [March] 1864 (1864-03-14 - 1864-03-14), item

Joseph John Gurney manuscripts (MS VOL S 356-357) 1837-1840 (1837 - 1840), fonds

Poem by Joseph John Gurney (TEMP MSS 32/14/8) no date, item

Biographies, Testimonies and poems (TEMP MSS 32/14) c.1750-1850 (1750 - 1850), series

Journals of Joseph John Gurney (MS VOL 181-184) 1808-1847 (1808 - 1847), fonds

Exercise book of James Dix (TEMP MSS 97/4) 1821 (1821 - 1821), item

Letter from Joseph John Gurney to Robert Southey (TEMP MSS 99/4/1) 7 i [January] 1826 (1826-01-07 - 1826-01-07), item

Elizabeth Fry letters and drafts (MS BOX 2/12) 1810-1845 (1810 - 1845), file

Letters to Joseph Sturge senior and Hannah Sturge (MS BOX 10/3) 1837-1875 (1837 - 1875), series  
 Certificates of removal (TEMP MSS 59/8/1-108) 1817-1871 (1817 - 1871), series  
 Letter from Joseph John Gurney to William Forster (TEMP MSS 100/17) Norwich, 27 August 1829 (1829-08-27 - 1829-08-27), item  
 Note from Joseph John Gurney to Anna Forster (TEMP MSS 100/21) no date, item  
 Printed letter from Joseph John Gurney to the grandchildren of his beloved aunt, Jane Gurney (TEMP MSS 110/1/9) 25 12mo [December] 1838 (1838-12-25 - 1838-12-25), item  
 Letters from Joseph John Gurney to William Rowntree (TEMP MSS 253), 1825; 1826 (1825 - 1826), file  
 Hazel Mews papers (TEMP MSS 284), 1960-1975 (1960 - 1975), fonds  
 Elizabeth Lee papers (TEMP MSS 302), c.1650-c.1900 (1650 - 1900), fonds  
 William Charles Braithwaite papers (TEMP MSS 553), c.1900-1920 (1900 - 1920), fonds  
 Ronald Hodgkin papers (TEMP MSS 771) 1829-1901 (1829 - 1901), fonds

### **The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database**

[www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org)

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*Ipswich Journal, The*

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*Leeds Intelligencer*

*London Courier and Evening Gazette*  
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*Newcastle Chronicle*  
*Newcastle Courant*  
*Norfolk Chronicle*  
*Northampton Mercury*  
*Oxford Journal*  
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*Saunders's News-Letter*  
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*The Sheffield Register*  
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*London Advertiser*  
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*London Evening Standard*  
*London Morning Chronicle*  
*London Morning Post*  
*Louisiana State Gazette, New Orleans*  
*Manchester Weekly Times and Examiner*  
*Military Register*  
*Morning Post*  
*New York Daily Herald*  
*New York Packet*  
*New-York Journal*  
*Tarboro' Press, Tarboro, NC*  
*The Atlas*  
*The Baltimore Sun*  
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*The Buffalo Daily Republic*  
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*The Charleston Daily Courier*  
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*The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire*  
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## Appendix A

Number of Liberian Colonists per year from North and South of the Mason Dixon Line. Product of newly compiled and collated data gleaned from “Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa, the condition of the American colonies there, and the commerce of the United States, 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458; Shick, Tom W., and Svend E. Holsoe. *Emigrants to Liberia, 1820 to 1843, an Alphabetical Listing*. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Department of Anthropology & Liberian Studies Association in America, 1971; American Colonization Society, *The African Repository*, Vol. 33 (1857). Information gleaned from this chart is referred to in chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Year	North	South	Total
<b>1820</b>	75	11	86
<b>1821</b>	0	33	33
<b>1822</b>	12	25	37
<b>1823</b>	21	44	65
<b>1824</b>	0	103	103
<b>1825</b>	14	52	66
<b>1826</b>	32	150	182
<b>1827</b>	0	222	222
<b>1828</b>	91	72	163
<b>1829</b>	17	188	205
<b>1830</b>	3	256	259
<b>1831</b>	0	83	83
<b>1832</b>	160	971	1131
<b>1833</b>	79	191	270
<b>1834</b>	68	59	127
<b>1835</b>	43	103	146
<b>1836</b>	29	214	243
<b>1837</b>	52	86	138
<b>1838</b>	60	49	109
<b>1839</b>	11	36	47
<b>1840</b>	44	71	115
<b>1841</b>	31	54	85

Year	North	South	Total
<b>1842</b>	22	226	248
<b>1843</b>	17	68	85
<b>1844</b>	8	132	140
<b>1845</b>	17	170	187
<b>1846</b>	3	86	89
<b>1847</b>	15	36	51
<b>1848</b>	55	386	441
<b>1849</b>	59	363	422
<b>1850</b>	158	342	500
<b>1851</b>	207	468	675
<b>1852</b>	327	313	640
<b>1853</b>	353	430	783
<b>1854</b>	234	319	553
<b>1855</b>	13	194	207
<b>1856</b>	31	507	538
<b>1857</b>	40	330	370
<b>1858</b>	5	120	125
<b>1859</b>	3	165	168
<b>1860</b>	2	200	202
<b>1861</b>	0	0	0
<b>1862</b>	14	0	14
<b>1863</b>	0	0	0
	2425	7928	10353

## Appendix B

List of 1792 Sierra Leone Company investor names and shares from List Compiled from appendix of Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization* (1794) with additional information found on residence and any information available about occupations and/or distinction in order to find the base of support for the company. Information gleaned from this chart is referred to in chapter two.<sup>507</sup>

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Thornton	Henry	Surrey	Banker	58
Milford	Samuel	Devon	Banker of Exeter	51
Mactaggart	John	Greater London	Scotland Yard	27
Atkinson	T	West Yorkshire	Banker	20
Bowers	N. Ward	Greater London	Combmaker	20
Brandram	Sam	Greater London	Banker	20
Calverley	John	Yorkshire	Mayor	20
Gardiner	Thomas	Middlesex	Banker and Merchant	20
Hardcastle	Joseph	Greater London	Merchant	20
Hawkins	John	Staffordshire	Manufacturer	20
Hodgson	Robert	Cheshire	Carriage Manufacturer	20
Pringle	William	Greater London	Banker	20
Royds	Jeremiah	Greater London	Merchant	20
Whitbread	S	Greater London	Brewer	20
Thornton	Robert	Surrey	Banker	18
Burges	J B	Greater London	Member of Parliament	17
Everett	Thomas	Greater London	Member of Parliament	17
Heyman	Henry	Greater London	Merchant	17
Higgin	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	17
Kymer	John	Surrey	Scotland Yard	17
Price	Joseph	Greater London	Sawmill Owner	17
Tibbits	Richard	Greater London	Builder	17

<sup>507</sup> List Compiled from information in Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, : Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce; Also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies Already Formed, or Attempted, in Africa, Including Those of Sierra Leona and Bulama*. London: Darton and Harvey, 1794; *The Tradesman* Vol 2 (London Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1809); British National Archives, Kew, Probate Collection, 1794 – 1821; Gilbert Sherwood, and Piper, *The Monthly Magazine or British Register* (St Paul's Churchyard, London: Richard Phillips, 1801) Vol 11, 287; Robert Montgomery Martin, *The British Colonies: Their History, Extent, Condition and Resources*, 1868 (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California Libraries 1968); British National Archives, Kew, England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858; *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885); *The Times* (London 1791-1794; newspaperarchive.com; newspapers.com; www.britishnewspaperarchive.

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Parker	Sam	Greater London	Unknown	15
Wolff	George	Greater London	Merchant	15
Bullock	William	Greater London	Member of Parliament	14
Gibbs	James	Greater London	Architect	12
Hennell	Robert	Greater London	Silversmith	12
Wood	Sir Francis	Greater London	Member of Parliament	12
Barrett	Bry.	Greater London	Legal Scholar	11
Byerley	Thomas	Greater London	Manufacturer	11
Shaw	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	11
Wedgwood	Josiah	Greater London	Manufacturer	11
Atkinson	Law	Yorkshire	Solicitor	10
Babington	Thomas	Leicestershire	Manufacturer	10
Bacchard	Jo.		Unknown	10
Baily	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	10
Barclay	George	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Belcher	Will	Greater London	Manufacturer	10
Brassey	Nathaniel	Greater London	Unknown	10
Brooke	George	Greater London	Unknown	10
Cardwell	Richard	Lancashire	Manufacturer	10
Christie	Daniel	Greater London	Unknown	10
Clarkson	Thomas		Reverend	10
Cornwall	J	Greater London	Unknown	10
Corsbie	Joseph	Greater London	Unknown	10
Drummond	Richard	Greater London	Unknown	10
Fenn	Nathaniel	Greater London	Unknown	10
Green	Jof	Greater London	Unknown	10
Hammersley	Thomas		Unknown	10
Haughton	Harry	Greater London	Unknown	10
Hayne	William	Greater London	Unknown	10
Heineken	Cristian		Unknown	10
Hewson	David	Greater London	Unknown	10
Hey	Richard	Cambridgeshire	Unknown	10
Higginson	Alex	Greater London	Unknown	10
Hilbert	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	10
Hoare	Samuel jr	Greater London	Merchant	10
Kingston	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	10
Lamb	John	Greater London	Unknown	10
Lewis	J	Greater London	Unknown	10
Livius	George	Bedfordshire	Unknown	10
Lloyd	Sam	Greater London	Unknown	10

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Lloyd	William	Greater London	Unknown	10
Maitland	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	10
Middleton	Charles Bart	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Mills	William	Greater London	Unknown	10
Monckton	Edward	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Musgrave	Peete	Cambridgeshire	Unknown	10
Nickling	James	Greater London	Unknown	10
Ommaney	Edward	Greater London	Reverend	10
Paleske	Lewis	Greater London	Unknown	10
Pitt	William Morton	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Remington	John	Greater London	Unknown	10
Reyner	Jos	Greater London	Unknown	10
Richardson	John	Greater London	Unknown	10
Rutt	John Towel	Greater London	Manufacturer	10
Scott	Claude	Greater London	Unknown	10
Smalley	Cornwall	Greater London	Unknown	10
Smith	Christopher		Unknown	10
Stansfield	Tim	Greater London	Unknown	10
Stevenson	Jos	Greater London	Unknown	10
Stonehouse	George		Unknown	10
Sykes	Sir Christopher	Yorkshire	Member of Parliament	10
Templeman	Thomas	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Towgood	William	Greater London	Unknown	10
Towgood	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	10
Trimbey	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	10
Trimmer	James	Greater London	Unknown	10
Whatley	George		Reverend	10
Wilberforce	William	Greater London	Member of Parliament	10
Willington	James	Greater London	Unknown	10
Wilson	Francis	Greater London	Unknown	10
Sansom	Phillip	Greater London	Anglican Lay	9
Sawrey	Miles	Devon	Unknown	9
Whittaker	Ann	Essex	Female	9
Betke	Charles	Greater London	Unknown	8
Bond	J	Greater London	Unknown	8
Burland	John Berkeley	Dorset	Unknown	8
Grace	Richard	Greater London	Unknown	8
Lucas	Nathaniel	Greater London	Unknown	8
Molling	Frederick	Greater London	Unknown	8
Thornton	Richard	Greater London	Merchant	8

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Barry	Bry.	Greater London	Unknown	7
De Bons	Henry	Greater London	Unknown	7
Taylor	Jo	West Midlands	Unknown	7
Waldron	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	7
Batley	Benjamin	Greater London	Unknown	6
Biddle	William	Greater London	Merchant	6
Champion	William	Greater London	Unknown	6
Clay	John	Greater London	Unknown	6
Cox	Thomas	Cambridgeshire	Unknown	6
Deacon	James	Greater London	Unknown	6
Fothergill	Anthony	Somerset	Gentleman	6
French	Andrew	Greater London	Unknown	6
Gosling	William	Greater London	Unknown	6
Houghton	Jo	West Yorkshire	Unknown	6
Jeffries	John	Gloucestershire	Unknown	6
Keddy	Ralph		Unknown	6
Mills	Charles	Greater London	Unknown	6
Milnes	Rachel	Berkshire	Female	6
Mitton	Henry	Greater London	Unknown	6
Morland	William	Greater London	Unknown	6
Natali	Jos	Greater London	Unknown	6
Oldham	James	Greater London	Unknown	6
Platt	Thomas	Surrey	Unknown	6
Polhill	Charles	Kent	Unknown	6
Postlethwaithe	Thomas	Cambridgeshire	Reverend and Publisher	6
Ravenscroft	Edward	Greater London	Unknown	6
Scott	Robert	Greater London	Unknown	6
Smith	William	Surrey	Unknown	6
Thornton	Sam	Surrey	Gentleman	6
Wedgewood	Josiah jr	Staffordshire	Manufacturer	6
Allen	Lewis Robert	Cheshire	Unknown	5
Anstie	Benjamin Webb	Greater London	Unknown	5
Ausley	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Austin	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Bentall	William	Devonshire	Unknown	5
Blakesley	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Blakesley	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Bowers	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Briggs	J. Hobart	Greater London	Unknown	5
Browning	John	West Sussex	Unknown	5



Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Bushan	Joseph	Greater London	Unknown	5
Campion	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Cazalet	Peter	Greater London	Unknown	5
Champion	Alex	Greater London	Unknown	5
Clarke	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Clements	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Collinson	Edward	Greater London	Unknown	5
Cotton	James jr	Greater London	Unknown	5
Crisp	Sam	Hertsfordshire	Unknown	5
Crump	Joseph	Greater London	Unknown	5
Dale	David	Glasgow	Unknown	5
Dennis	Adam	Greater London	Unknown	5
Digby	Stephen	Greater London	Honorable	5
Dixon	Marcus	Greater London	Unknown	5
Dyneley	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Evans	Henry	Greater London	Unknown	5
Everett	Jo Gale		Unknown	5
Everett	Josef		Unknown	5
Farborough	Jof	Greater London	Unknown	5
Fox	William		Unknown	5
Franks	William	Hertfordshire	Unknown	5
Freeman	Thomas Edwards		Unknown	5
Fuller	Benjamin	Greater London	Unknown	5
Gambier	Sam	Hertfordshire	Unknown	5
Gataker	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Gibbons	Thomas	Greater London	Watchmaker	5
Gisborne	Thomas		Reverend	5
Grant	Charles	Greater London	Unknown	5
Gray	Benjamin	Greater London	Unknown	5
Greathead	Samuel	Buckinghamshire	Reverend	5
Grote	George	Greater London	Unknown	5
Gurdon	Phil	Suffolk	Reverend	5
Gutteridge	Jof	Greater London	Unknown	5
Hanson	Edward	Greater London	Unknown	5
Harris	Richard	Greater London	Unknown	5
Heygate	J	Greater London	Unknown	5
Hogg	Reynold		Reverend	5
Holloway	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Holt	John		Unknown	5
Hornby	William	Lincolnshire	Unknown	5

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Horton	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Horton	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Hose	J D	Greater London	Unknown	5
Howe	Edward Russell	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jaques	Richard	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jefferies	Edward	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jeffery	George	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jefferys	Matthew	Worcestershire	Unknown	5
jeffreis	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jenour	Joshua	Greater London	Unknown	5
Jessop	William		Unknown	5
Keen	Henry		Unknown	5
Kettle	Godfrey	Greater London	Unknown	5
Kingston	Robert	Greater London	Unknown	5
Ladbroke	Richard	Greater London	Unknown	5
Law	Robert	Greater London	Unknown	5
Le Mesurier	Paul		Member of Parliament	5
Lee	Joshua	Greater London	Unknown	5
Levy	Zachary	Greater London	Unknown	5
Lewis	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Leycester	Ralph	Surrey	Unknown	5
Lister	Daniel	Greater London	Unknown	5
Luders	Alex	Greater London	Unknown	5
Marshall	Caleb	Greater London	Unknown	5
Martin	James		Member of Parliament	5
Mills	Jacob	Greater London	Unknown	5
Milnes	Richard Slater	Greater London	Unknown	5
Milnes	James	Berkshire	Unknown	5
Paley	Richard	Yorkshire	Unknown	5
Palmer	William	Oxfordshire	Unknown	5
Parker	David	Greater London	Unknown	5
Parker	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Pasley	John		Unknown	5
Pickford	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Pitt	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Platt	Jane	Greater London	Female	5
Pottinger	Chr	Greater London	Unknown	5
Pyndar	Reginald	Worcestershire	Reverend	5
Rigby	Edward	Norfolk	Unknown	5
Robson	John Chamberlain	Greater London	Unknown	5

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction	Shares
Robson	Robert	Greater London	Unknown	5
Sanford	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Savage	Jos	Greater London	Unknown	5
Sharp	George	Greater London	Unknown	5
Sharp	William	Greater London	Merchant	5
Sharp	Granville	Greater London	Clerk	5
Sowerby	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Stevens	Sir Phil Bart	Greater London	Member of Parliament	5
Stewart	Edward	Greater London	Agent, Dublin Linene Office	5
Stratton	George	Oxfordshire	Unknown	5
Taylor	Vickeris	Greater London	Unknown	5
Taylor	Sam	Greater London	Unknown	5
Taylor	Edward Farmer		Unknown	5
Thompson	William	Yorkshire	Unknown	5
Tickell	William	Somerset	Unknown	5
Towgood	Matthew	Greater London	Unknown	5
Vivian	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Walford	Luke William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Walker	Richard	Lancashire	Unknown	5
Walker	Thomas	Lancashire	Unknown	5
Walker	Josa		Unknown	5
Walker	Robert	Greater London	Unknown	5
Walker	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Webber	Major James	Greater London	Unknown	5
Wedgewood	Thomas	Staffordshire	Unknown	5
Weston	Thomas	Greater London	Unknown	5
Whalley	Palmer		Reverend	5
White	Henry	Greater London	Unknown	5
White	Stephen	Greater London	Doctor	5
Williams	Stephen	Greater London	Unknown	5
Wilson	Jo	Greater London	Unknown	5
Wilson	William	Greater London	Unknown	5
Wright	Jo	Nottinghamshire	Unknown	5
Wright	John Maud	Greater London	Unknown	5
Young	Sir George	Greater London	Unknown	5

## Appendix C

List of Small Investors of the Province of Freedom or St George's Bay Company gleaned based on Sierra Leone Company report form 1794 of division between Company shareholders and former shareholders with name and address compiled from appendix of Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization* (1794) with additional information compiled to find occupation and/or distinction from other sources. While many are unknown this list contains a majority of religious leaders along with nine women, two of which were known leaders in the cause of abolition. Information gleaned from this chart is referred to in Chapters one and two.<sup>508</sup>

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Abdy	W Jarvis	London	Reverend
Adams	Peter	London	Unknown
Adams	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Adamson	Robertg	London	Unknown
Adcock	John	London	Unknown
Addison	Thomas	London	Unknown
Affelck	Ann	Unknown	Female
Agar	William	London	Unknown
Alburn	Robert	London	Unknown
Alison	Al	Edinburgh	Unknown
Allen	J. Bruce	London	Unknown
Allen	Maxey	East Anglia	Unknown
Allen	Mrs	London	Female
Allen	Oswald	Yorkshire	Unknown
Alleyne	Ann	Nottinghamshire	Female
Alleyne	Mrs Penelope	Nottinghamshire	Female
Ames	John	Bristol	Unknown
Anderson	Frances	Yorkshire	Lady
Andrew	Mordecai	Essex	Reverend
Andrews	J. Bart	Westminster	Member of Parliament
Andrews	J. P.	Middlesex	Unknown
Angell	William Sandell	London	Unknown
Annesley	Alex	London	Unknown
Ansell	George	London	Unknown
Anstie	John	London	Unknown
Arden	J	Yorkshire	Unknown
Arden	Miss Jane	Yorkshire	Female

<sup>508</sup> List Compiled thanks to comment in *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its First Establishment in 1793; Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors* (London: the Sierra Leone Company, 1794) 9 Digital Image, King's College – London Foyle's Special Collection, DT516 SIE (Accessed May 28, 2018); With information in Carl Bernhard Wadström, *An Essay on Colonization, : Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with Some Free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce; Also Brief Descriptions of the Colonies Already Formed, or Attempted, in Africa, Including Those of Sierra Leona and Bulama* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794); *The Tradesman Vol 2* (London Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1809); British National Archives, Kew, Probate Collection, 1794 – 1821; Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858; *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885); newspaperarchive.com; newspapers.com; www.britishnewspaperarchive.

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Arkwright	Robert	Derbyshire	Manufacturer
Arnaud	John	London	Unknown
Arnett	Rich	London	Unknown
Arney	Scheve	London	Unknown
Arnold	J	London	Unknown
Arthur	J	London	Unknown
Astle	W	London	Unknown
Atkinson	Cu	Cumbria	Unknown
Atkinson	Joseph	London	Reverend
Atkinson	R	London	Unknown
Atkinson	Thomas	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Atkinson	W	London	Unknown
Attersale	Joseph	London	Unknown
Atwood	Richard	London	Unknown
Audley	J	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Ayton	William	London	Banker
Babington	Matthew	Leicestershire	Reverend
Bagfhaw	J.	Unknown	Unknown
Bailey	George	London	Unknown
Bailey	John	London	Unknown
Bailye	Hugh	Unknown	Reverend
Bailye	Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Bainbridge	George	London	Unknown
Baker	J.	Surrey	Unknown
Bale	Charles	London	Unknown
Balgonie		Edinburgh	Member of Parliament
Baly	W.	Buckinghamshire	Unknown
Bancroft	Edward	London	Doctor
Banger	Josiah	London	Unknown
Bankes	J. Staines	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Banks	George	London	Unknown
Banner	Freancis	London	Unknown
Barclay	Robert	London	Unknown
Barker	J.	London	Unknown
Barker	R.	London	Reverend
Barlow	J.	London	Unknown
Barnard	John	Norfolk	Unknown
Barnard	Sam	Unknown	Unknown
Barnard	William	Norfolk	Unknown
Barnett	J.	London	Unknown
Barnett	Mich.	London	Unknown
Barnett	T.	London	Unknown
Barnett	W.	London	Unknown
Barrett	Robert	London	Unknown
Bartrum	Charles	London	Unknown
Bartrum	J.	London	Unknown
Baseley	Cha.	London	Unknown
Baseley	Eliza	Norfolk	Female

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Baseley	Harriet	Norfolk	Female
Baseley	J. Green	Norfolk	Unknown
Baseley	Thomas Warrener	Norfolk	Unknown
Basnett	John	London	Unknown
Bass	Will.	London	Unknown
Bateman	Th.	London	Unknown
Batterby	Edward	London	Unknown
Bax	John	London	Unknown
Bayley	Arthur	London	Unknown
Bayley	John	London	Unknown
Bayley	Sarah	London	Female
Bayley	Thomas Butterworth	London	Unknown
Bazett	Henry	London	Unknown
Beacroft	Judith	London	Unknown
Beams	Hugh	London	Banker and Merchant
Beardmore	JoS	London	Unknown
Beaumont	R H	Yorkshire	Unknown
Beawan	W. Hibbs	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Bedder	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Bedome	Sam	Southwark	Unknown
Beet	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Begbie	Alex	Unknown	Unknown
Bell	Daniel	London	Unknown
Bell	J	London	Unknown
Bell	James	London	Unknown
Bell	James	Unknown	Unknown
Bendelack	Moses	London	Unknown
Benfield	Paul	London	Member of Parliament
Benford	William	Unknown	Unknown
Benham	Robert	London	Unknown
Bensusan	Samuel	London	Unknown
Bent	William	London	Unknown
Bentinck	William	Unknown	Sea Captain
Bentley	Roger	London	Reverend
Bentley	William	London	Unknown
Berjeu	John Paine	Bristol	Unknown
Berwick	Jof.	London	Unknown
Best	George	London	Unknown
Best	Robert	London	Unknown
Bewicke	Henry	London	Unknown
Beynou	Thomas	Carmarthenshire	Reverend
Bick	Edward	London	Unknown
Biddle	Andr.	Buckinghamshire	Unknown
Biddulph	Francis	London	Banker
Billinge	George	London	Unknown
Billinge	Thomas	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Binham	Richard	Exeter	Unknown
Birchie	William	Unknown	Unknown
Bird	W W	London	Unknown
Birket	Daniel	London	Unknown
Bischoff	James	Yorkshire	Unknown
Bischoff	Magdalen	Yorkshire	Female
Bischoff	Martha	Yorkshire	Female
Bischoff	Thomas	Yorkshire	Unknown
Blagbrough	Samuel	Yorkshire	Unknown
Blake	Thomas	Norfolk	Unknown
Blake	William	London	Unknown
Blakemore	Thomas	Warwickshire	Unknown
Blakesley	J	Leicestershire	Unknown
Blamire	Edward	London	Unknown
Blanchenay	Francis	London	Unknown
Blaxland	Henry	London	Unknown
Blew	William	London	Unknown
Blinkhorn	T	Unknown	Unknown
Blizard	Jo	London	Unknown
Blunt	J	London	Unknown
Blunt	John	London	Unknown
Boddington	Eleanor	London	Female
Bode	John	London	Unknown
Bogue	David	Hampshire	Reverend
Boileau	John Peter	London	Unknown
Boldaro	Edward Gale	London	Unknown
Bonham	Henry	London	Unknown
Booth	Abraham	London	Unknown
Booth	Isaac	London	Unknown
Booth	J	London	Unknown
Booth	Jacob	London	Unknown
Bosanquat	Chr	London	Unknown
Boultbee	C	Warwickshire	Unknown
Boultbee	Hercules	Leicestershire	Unknown
Boultbee	Jof.	Warwickshire	Unknown
Boultbee	Jof. Jr	Leicestershire	Unknown
Boultbee	John	Warwickshire	Unknown
Boultbee	Joseph	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Boultbee	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Boultbee	William	London	Unknown
Boulton	Matthew	West Midlands	Unknown
Bourne	Jo	East Yorkshire	Reverend
Bowdler	H	Somerset	Female
Bowen	James	London	Sea Captain
Bowley	G	London	Unknown
Bowman	John Christian	London	Unknown
Bowser	G	Unknown	Unknown
Bowzer	R	Unknown	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Boyes	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Boys	Mary	Middlesex	Female
Boys	Thomas	Middlesex	Unknown
Boys	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Brackenbury	Matthew	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Bradbury	Samuel	London	Unknown
Braithwait	G	London	Unknown
Brand	Aug Ever	Unknown	Unknown
Brandram	James	London	Unknown
Brandreth	John	Derbyshire	Unknown
Brandstrom	Elizabeth	East Yorkshire	Female
Brandstrom	Letitia	East Yorkshire	Female
Braune	J. Gotlob	Warwickshire	Unknown
Brazier	J	London	Unknown
Bree	Robert	Leicestershire	Unknown
Brickwood	J	London	Unknown
Brickwood	John	London	Unknown
Brickwood	Lawrence	London	Unknown
Brickwood	Nathaniel	London	Unknown
Bridges	John	London	Unknown
Broadwood	J S	London	Unknown
Broadwood	John	London	Unknown
Brocas	Harriet	Berkshire	Female
Brocklehurst	John	Lancashire	Unknown
Brocklehurst	Miss	Lancashire	Female
Brocklehurst	William	Lancashire	Unknown
Brook	Joseph	London	Unknown
Brown	Edward	Unknown	Unknown
Brown	Ha. Myles	Middlesex	Female
Brown	John	Norfolk	Unknown
Brown	Thomas	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Brown	Thomas	London	Unknown
Browne	Hutchin, Hotherall	Lancashire	Unknown
Brundson	Chalres	London	Unknown
Buck	James	Yorkshire	Unknown
Buckingham	James	London	Unknown
Bukle	Miss	London	Female
Bulkley	James	Staffordshire	Unknown
Bulmer	Francis	Yorkshire	Unknown
Bulmer	Peter John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Burbidge	John	London	Unknown
Burbidge	William	London	Unknown
Burchall	Robert	Unknown	Unknown
Burcham	William	East Anglia	Unknown
Burges	William	Low Countries	Unknown
Burges	Ynyr	Essex	Unknown
Burgess	Thomas	Durham	Reverend



Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Burgh	William	Yorkshire	Unknown
Burnett	Robert	London	Unknown
Burnett	Robert jr	London	Unknown
Burstall	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Burton	Daniel	Lancashire	Unknown
Burton	James	London	Unknown
Butcher	William	Nottinghamshire	Unknown
Butler	James	London	Unknown
Butterworth	Matthew	London	Unknown
Button	W	London	Reverend
Buxton	Charles	Leicestershire	Unknown
Buxton	Isaac	Leicestershire	Unknown
Buxton	J	East Anglia	Reverend
Buxton	John	London	Unknown
Buxton	Robert John	East Anglia	Unknown
Buxton	Thomas	Leicestershire	Unknown
Buxton	Thomas Bentley	Leicestershire	Unknown
Caddick	Henry	Unknown	Unknown
Caldecot	John	Unknown	Unknown
Call	J. Bart	London	Member of Parliament
Calthrop	Elizabeth	London	Female
Calthrop	John	London	Unknown
Calthrop	Mary	London	Female
Calthrop	Robert	London	Unknown
Calvert	Peter	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Cammeyer	Ch	London	Unknown
Campbell	John	Edinburgh	Unknown
Cannarvon	Thomas	London	Unknown
Cardale	William	London	Unknown
Carr	Henry	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Carr	Samuel	Essex	Unknown
Carter	Hannah	Unknown	Female
Cary	General	Yorkshire	General
Cass	John	London	Unknown
Cater	Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Cawthorn	George	London	Unknown
Cay	Boult	London	Honorable
Chalk	Robert jr	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Chambers	Ann	London	Female
Chambers	Jarvis	Surrey	Unknown
Champion	Elizabeth	London	Female
Champion	Henrietta	London	Female
Champion	Maria	London	Female
Chandler	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Chandler	Richard	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Chaplin	John	London	Unknown
Chapman	James	Suffolk	Unknown
Chapman	William	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Charlesworth	J	Nottinghamshire	Reverend
Chase	Elizabeth Ann	Bedfordshire	Female
Chater	Eleazer	London	Unknown
Chater	Nathaniel	London	Unknown
Cheesment	John G	London	Unknown
Cheselden	Ann Lavinia	London	Female
Chetwynd	Viscount	Unknown	Member of Parliament
Church	John	Unknown	Unknown
Clapton	Ann	Essex	Female
Clapton	Mary	Cambridgeshire	Female
Clapton	Mary	Essex	Female
Clark	John Alden	London	Unknown
Clark	Mary	London	Female
Clark	Richard	London	Unknown
Clark	Richard Hall	Unknown	Unknown
Clark	Samuel	Leicestershire	Unknown
Clark	Sarah	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Clark	Thomas	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Clarkson	Richard	Surrey	Unknown
Clarkson	Thomas	London	Reverend
Clayton	Ralph	London	Unknown
Clementi	Muzio	London	Unknown
Clemitson	James	London	Unknown
Coad	Eleanor	Unknown	Female
Coad	Joseph	London	Unknown
Cobb	James	London	Unknown
Cock	Charles	London	Female
Cock	Elizabeth	London	Female
Cock	Mary	London	Female
Cocks	Elizabeth	Middlesex	Unknown
Cocks	Thomas	London	Unknown
Cohen	Levy	London	Unknown
Cohen	Samuel	London	Unknown
Cole	Charles	Surrey	Unknown
Collett	Isaac	Somerset	Unknown
Collier	Mary	Devon	Female
Collinson	J	West Sussex	Unknown
Coltman	E	Leicestershire	Female
Coltman	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Comber	William	Yorkshire	Reverend
Compton	John	Hampshire	Unknown
Compton	Spencer	London	Unknown
Compton	Thomas	London	Unknown
Constable	Marmaduke	Unknown	Unknown
Conyngam	Burton	London	Unknown
Cook	David	London	Unknown
Cooke	James	London	Reverend
Cookson	Christ	Unknown	Reverend

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Cookson	William	East Anglia	Reverend
Coole	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Coope	John jr	London	Unknown
Cooper	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Corrie	John	London	Unknown
Corrie	Richard	London	Unknown
Cosby	Henry	London	Member of Parliament
Cotton	Henry Calveley	London	Unknown
Coverdale	Norrison	Unknown	Unknown
Cowell	George	Unknown	Unknown
Cowell	John	London	Unknown
Cowley	John	London	Unknown
Cowper	Charles	London	Unknown
Cowper	David	London	Unknown
Cowper	Edward	London	Unknown
Cowper	Francis	London	Female
Cox	Leader	Leicestershire	Unknown
Cox	Mary	London	Female
Coxhead	Thomas	Unknown	Member of Parliament
Cracklow	Aaron	West Sussex	Unknown
Cracklow	Henry	West Sussex	Unknown
Cracroft	John	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Crafton	Robert	London	Unknown
Crane	Sarah	London	Female
Craven	John	London	Unknown
Crawshay	Richard	London	Unknown
Cremer	George	London	Unknown
Creswell	Henry	London	Unknown
Crompton	Gilbert	Yorkshire	Unknown
Crompton	Hannah	Surrey	Female
Cross	Robert	Exeter	Unknown
Crosse	J N	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Croucher	John	London	Unknown
Culme	John	Devon	Unknown
Cunliffe	Margaret Eliza	London	Female
Cunliffe	Mary	London	Female
Cunningham	Jo	London	Unknown
Cure	Capel	London	Unknown
Curling	Daniel	London	Unknown
Curling	Jesse	Unknown	Unknown
Curling	John	Unknown	Unknown
Curling	Robert	Unknown	Unknown
Currie	William	Surrey	Unknown
Daintry	Michael	Staffordshire	Unknown
Dalton	Elizabeth	Middlesex	Female
Danby	William	Yorkshire	Unknown
Darwin	Erasmus	Derbyshire	Unknown
Davidson	Ebenezer	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Davidson	John	London	Unknown
Davies	John	London	Unknown
Davies	Timothy	London	Unknown
Davies	William	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Davison	Alex	London	Unknown
Davison	Thomas	Surrey	Unknown
Davy	Samuel	Devonshire	Unknown
Davy	William	Devonshire	Unknown
Daw	William	London	Unknown
Dawson	Alice	London	Female
Dawson	Benjamin	Somerset	Unknown
Dawson	Isabella	London	Female
Dawson	Martha	London	Female
De Grave	Charles	London	Unknown
Dean	George	London	Unknown
Deardon	John	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Debaufre	Joseph	London	Unknown
Deformeaux	James Lewis	Unknown	Unknown
Delap	Charles	Cumbria	Unknown
Denman	Thomas	London	Doctor
Dettman	George	London	Unknown
Dettman	Joseph	London	Unknown
Dewes	Matthew	Unknown	Unknown
Dewes	Robert	Vancouver	Sea Captain
Dewey	James	London	Unknown
Dickenson	E	Cornwall	Female
Digby	Knelm	London	Unknown
Digby	Robert	London	Vice Admiral
Digby	Wristesley	Warwickshire	Unknown
Dillingham	Bampton Gardon	East Anglia	Unknown
Dirs	Carlton	London	Unknown
Dixon	Jo	Bedfordshire	Reverend
Dixon	Joseph Harrison	London	Unknown
Dixon	Richard	Essex	Unknown
Dixon	Robert	Essex	Unknown
Dixon	William	Unknown	Unknown
Dods	Robert	Hampshire	Unknown
Dolben	Ann	Unknown	Female
Dolben	Charlotte	London	Female
Dolben	William Bartholmew	London	Member of Parliament
Donaldson	William	London	Unknown
Dore	James	Unknown	Reverend
Dornford	T	London	Unknown
Dorrien	George	London	Unknown
Dorrien	Thomas	London	Unknown
Dorville	Jo jr	London	Unknown
Down	Richard	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Drake	Jo	Devon	Unknown
Draper	Sam	London	Unknown
Drewe	Simeon	London	Unknown
Droz	Jo	London	Unknown
Drummond	Robert	London	Unknown
Duckett	Richard	Leicestershire	Unknown
Dudman	Jo	London	Unknown
Duncan	Alex	London	Unknown
Duncomb	Henry	London	Member of Parliament
Durham	Bishop	London	Unknown
Duthoit	James	London	Unknown
Duthoit	James	London	Manufacturer
Duthoit	Peter	London	Unknown
Duthoit	Susannah	London	Female
Dyer	George	London	Unknown
Dyson	George	London	Unknown
Dyson	Theophilus	London	Unknown
Dyson	Thomas	East Anglia	Unknown
Earle	Josepf	London	Unknown
Echalaz	Josef	London	Unknown
Eckerfall	Jo	Bristol	Unknown
Edgar	Alex	London	Sea Captain
Edmunds	Amelia	South Yorkshire	Female
Edwards	Edward	London	Unknown
Edwards	Gerard Noel	Unknown	Member of Parliament
Edwards	Joseph	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Edwards	Sally	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Edwards	Sophia	Unknown	Unknown
Edwards	William	London	Unknown
Edye	Josef	Bristol	Unknown
Egerton	Ezeiel	London	Unknown
Elam	Emanuel	Yorkshire	Unknown
Elam	Mary	Yorkshire	Female
Elam	Sam	Yorkshire	Unknown
Eldred	Thomas	London	Unknown
Elford	Jona	Devon	Unknown
Elford	W	Devon	Unknown
Eliot	Edward jr	London	Member of Parliament
Ellice	Alex	London	Unknown
Ellil	Joseph	London	Unknown
Elliot	C	London	Unknown
Elliot	Jo	London	Unknown
Ellis	Jof	London	Unknown
Ellis	Will	London	Unknown
Elmfall	Edward	Berkshire	Unknown
Elphinstone	William	London	Honorable
Engell	Henry	London	Unknown
Envoy	Jo Christian	Unknown	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Esdaile	Elizabeth	Surrey	Unknown
Esdaile	William	Surrey	Unknown
Estlin	J P	Bristol	Reverend
Etheridge	Samuel	London	Unknown
Evan	C	London	Unknown
Evance	Jo	London	Unknown
Evans	Ann Janet	London	Female
Evans	David	London	Unknown
Evans	Francis	London	Unknown
Evans	Henry	London	Unknown
Evans	John	London	Unknown
Evans	Jonathan	Exeter	Unknown
Evans	Walter	Derbyshire	Unknown
Evans	William	London	Unknown
Eyre	John	London	Reverend
Eyton	T	Shropshire	Unknown
Faden	William	London	Unknown
faffet	Thomas	London	Unknown
Faffet	William	London	Unknown
Fagg	John	Unknown	Unknown
Falkner	Francis	Somerset	Unknown
Farhill	John	London	Unknown
Farish	James	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Farish	W	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Farmer	Richard	London	Unknown
Farquharson	James	Unknown	Unknown
Farquharson	Robert	Unknown	Unknown
Farrer	J	London	Unknown
Fawkes	Edward	London	Unknown
Feilden	Henry	London	Unknown
Fellows	John	Nottinghamshire	Unknown
Fenn	John	London	Unknown
Fenn	Thomas	Essex	Unknown
Fenton	David	London	Unknown
Fenton	William	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Fernhough	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Ferreman	G	Yorkshire	Reverend
Ferrers	Thomas	London	Unknown
Field	Richard	London	Unknown
Field	William	London	Unknown
Finch	Christopher	Unknown	Unknown
Finch	James	Essex	Unknown
Findlay	R	Glasgow	Reverend
Fisher	William	Dorset	Unknown
Fishwick	Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Fleming	James	London	Unknown
Fletcher	Henry	Unknown	Unknown
Flight	Jof	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Flower	Richard	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Foggo	James	London	Unknown
Forbes	James	Middlesex	Unknown
Ford	Hugh	Staffordshire	Unknown
Fordham	Edward	Herefordshire	Unknown
Fordham	Elias	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Fordham	George	Herefordshire	Unknown
Forster	Benjamin Meggot	London	Unknown
Forster	Edward	London	Unknown
Forster	Edward jr	London	Unknown
Forster	Henry	London	Reverend
Forster	Joel	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Forster	Susannah Dorothy	Essex	Female
Forster	Thomas	London	Unknown
Forster	Thomas Furley	London	Unknown
Forster	Thomas Furley jr	London	Unknown
Forster	William	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Fothergill	John	Yorkshire	Unknown
Fourdrinier	Henry fen.	London	Unknown
Fourdrinier	John Rawson	London	Unknown
Fowler	George	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Fox	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Fox	William	London	Unknown
Fox	William	London	Unknown
Free	John	London	Unknown
Free	Peter	London	Unknown
Freeman	Samuel Flower	London	Unknown
French	Hugh	London	Doctor
French	Judith	London	Female
Frend	William	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Frewen	E	Essex	Reverend
Frisby	Charles	London	Unknown
Fryer	J	London	Unknown
Fuller	William	London	Unknown
Fuller	William	Unknown	Unknown
Gadesley	Thomas	Bedfordshire	Reverend
Gainsborough	Earl	London	Honorable
Garland	Thomas	London	Unknown
Garlies	Viscount	London	Member of Parliament
Garrat	Fr.	London	Unknown
Gaviller	George	London	Unknown
Gazaam	William jr	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Gazely	J S	London	Unknown
Geast	Richard	Warwickshire	Unknown
Gee	Richard	Yorkshire	Reverend
Gibbons	Joseph Charles	London	Unknown
Gibbons	Mary	London	Female

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Gibbs	Phil	Devon	Reverend
Gibby	John	Lincolnshire	Reverend
Gibson	G	Unknown	Reverend
Gibson	James	London	Unknown
Gibson	William	London	Unknown
Giles	Dam	London	Unknown
Giles	John	London	Unknown
Gill	James	London	Unknown
Gill	John	Unknown	Unknown
Gisborne	Mary	Unknown	Female
Glaister	Samuel	London	Unknown
Glegg	John	Cheshire	Unknown
Glencross	James	Devonshire	Unknown
Glover	D	London	Unknown
Glover	Edward	Norfolk	Reverend
Glynn	Richard Kerr	London	Member of Parliament
Godfal	Phil	London	Unknown
Gold	Ann	Leicestershire	Female
Golding	William	Unknown	Unknown
Goldsmid	Abraham	London	Unknown
Goldsmid	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Goodacre	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Goodacre	John jr	Leicestershire	Unknown
Goodacre	T fenr.	Leicestershire	Unknown
Goodheart	Eman jr	London	Unknown
Goodheart	Emanuel	London	Unknown
Goodheart	Jac	London	Unknown
Goodhew	William	London	Unknown
Goodman	Job	Unknown	Unknown
Goodyer	George Dynely	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Gorton	William	London	Unknown
Grace	Richard	London	Unknown
Grafton	Elizabeth	Essex	Female
Grafton	Mary	Essex	Female
Grahame	Robert	Glasgow	Unknown
Grant	John	London	Unknown
Grave	John	London	Unknown
Graves	Thomas	Essex	Unknown
Graves	Thomas	Leicestershire	Reverend
Gray	Walker	London	Unknown
Gray	William jr	Yorkshire	Unknown
Green	Ann Maria	London	Female
Green	John	London	Unknown
Green	John	London	Unknown
Green	William	London	Unknown
Green	William Bartholmew	London	Member of Parliament
Greene	Henry	Cambridgeshire	Unknown



Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Greene	Henry	Leicestershire	Reverend
Greenwood	Abraham	London	Unknown
Greenwood	Jof	Essex	Unknown
Greenwood	Thomas	London	Unknown
Greville	Andrew Crewe	London	Unknown
Grey	John	London	Unknown
Griffin	Charles	London	Unknown
Griffin	George	London	Unknown
Griffin	William	London	Reverend
Griffinhoofe	Jane	London	Female
Griffinhoofe	William Jo	London	Unknown
Griffith	Edward	Gwynedd	Unknown
Grigby	John	Lancashire	Unknown
Grill	Carolina	London	Female
Grill	Charles Henry	London	Unknown
Grill	Claes	London	Unknown
Grill	Maria	London	Female
Grill	Maria	London	Female
Grimston	Henry	Yorkshire	Unknown
Grimston	Thomas	Yorkshire	Unknown
Grimwood	J M	London	Unknown
Groombridge	Step William	London	Unknown
Grote	Jof	London	Unknown
Guillaume	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Gurney	Bartlet	Norfolk	Unknown
Gurney	Jof	Unknown	Unknown
Guyon	Claude Phil	London	Unknown
Haddock	John	Sussex	Unknown
Hadley	Nathaniel	Unknown	Unknown
Hainworth	Samuel	Unknown	Unknown
Hall	Amb	London	Unknown
Hall	Hannah	Hertfordshire	Female
Hall	Henry Owen	London	Unknown
Hall	James	Edinburgh	Reverend
Hall	Jof	Bristol	Unknown
Hall	Luke	London	Unknown
Hambly	Thomas	London	Unknown
Hamilton	Robert	East Anglia	Doctor
Hammond	Arthur Atherley	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Hammond	Charles	Oxfordshire	Unknown
Hammond	George	London	Unknown
Hammond	Jo	London	Unknown
Hammond	Samuel	London	Unknown
Hanbury	John	London	Unknown
Hancock	J	London	Unknown
Hancock	J Ellington	London	Unknown
Hancock	Jof	London	Unknown
Hancock	Matthew	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Hanrott	Fr.	London	Unknown
Hanson	Samuel	London	Unknown
Hardcastle	Elizabeth	London	Female
Hare	John	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Harford	Edward	Bristol	Unknown
Harford	J Scandrett	Bristol	Unknown
Harford	Richard	London	Unknown
Hargood	Hezeki	London	Unknown
Harman	Abraham	London	Unknown
Harman	Jeremiah	London	Unknown
Harris	Jo	London	Unknown
Harris	Mary	Leicestershire	Female
Harris	Sarah	London	Female
Harris	William	London	Unknown
Harrison	Barbara	Unknown	Female
Harrison	Jof	London	Unknown
Harrison	Robert	London	Unknown
Harrison	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Harrop	Charles	London	Unknown
Hart	Benjamin	Norfolk	Reverend
Hart	George	London	Unknown
Hart	Jof	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Harvey	Robert	Norfolk	Unknown
Hase	Henry	London	Unknown
Hatfull	George	London	Unknown
Hawes	Jo	London	Unknown
Hay	Francis	Sussex	Female
Hay	Henrietta	Sussex	Female
Haycraft	Jof	London	Unknown
Haycraft	Thomas	London	Unknown
Hayne	Thomas	London	Unknown
Hayton	Amos	London	Unknown
Hayward	J	Surrey	Unknown
Hearne	Thomas	London	Unknown
Hennell	David	Unknown	Unknown
Hepburn	Jo	London	Unknown
Hepworth	Jo	Staffordshire	Reverend
Herring	Jo	London	Unknown
Herring	William	Norfolk	Unknown
Herron	Richard	London	Unknown
Hervey	Edmund	Hertfordshire	Reverend
Hervey	Elizabeth	Hertfordshire	Female
Hervey	Jo	Norfolk	Unknown
Hesse	Sarah	Unknown	Female
Hewlett	William	London	Unknown
Hey	Jo	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Hey	Samuel	Wiltshire	Reverend
Hey	William	Yorkshire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Heyrick	William	Leicestershire	Unknown
Hibbert	Jof	London	Unknown
Hide	Thomas Seymour	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Highmore	Anthony jr	London	Unknown
Hill	Jo	London	Unknown
Hill	Richard Bartholmew	Unknown	Member of Parliament
Hill	Rowland	London	Reverend
Hill	Rupertia	London	Female
Hill	Thomas	Exeter	Unknown
Hill	Jo	London	Unknown
Hiller	Nathaniel	Suffolk	Unknown
Hillier	Elizabeth	London	Female
Hillier	Richard	London	Unknown
Hills	Martha	London	Female
Hilman	William	Unknown	Member of Parliament
Hilton	Fr	London	Unknown
Hinckley	Henry	Yorkshire	Unknown
Hippuff	Charles	London	Unknown
Hirst	Edward	London	Unknown
Hoare	Edward Henry	Unknown	Reverend
Hoare	Henry	London	Unknown
Hoare	Hugh	London	Unknown
Hoare	Samuel jr	London	Quaker Merchant
Hobbs	Giles	Essex	Reverend
Hodges	Weckens	London	Unknown
Hodgkinson	Enoch	London	Unknown
Hodgkinson	Samson	London	Unknown
Hodgson	Thomas	London	Unknown
Hoffman	John	London	Unknown
Holbert	Richmond	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Holbrook	Jof	London	Unknown
Holden	Jof	London	Unknown
Holdsworth	William	Unknown	Unknown
Holland	Henry	London	Unknown
Hollingworth	Richard	London	Unknown
Holms	William	Yorkshire	Unknown
Holt	James	Unknown	Unknown
Holwell	Edward	Devonshire	Unknown
Homewood	Edward	Kent	Unknown
Homewood	William	Kent	Unknown
Hooper	Cleeve	Sussex	Unknown
Hooper	George	Kent	Unknown
Hooper	Stephen	London	Unknown
Hoppe	John	London	Unknown
Horncastle	Thomas	London	Unknown
Horner	Jane	East Yorkshire	Female
Horner	Jof	Yorkshire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Horner	Mary	East Yorkshire	Female
Horniblow	William	Worcestershire	Unknown
Hornidge	Jo	London	Unknown
Hoskyn	Elizabeth	Devonshire	Female
Houlbrooke	Theophilus	Shropshire	Reverend
Houson	James	London	Unknown
How	Richard	Bedfordshire	Unknown
Howard	Ann	East Yorkshire	Female
Howard	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Howard	Jo Garton	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Howe	Capt Jo	London	Unknown
Howlett	Jo	Essex	Reverend
Hudson	James	Norfolk	Unknown
Hughes	Thomas	Unknown	Reverend
Hulme	Nathaniel	London	Doctor
Humphrey	Jo	East Anglia	Reverend
Hundlebee	Abednego	Unknown	Unknown
Hunt	John Newton	Essex	Unknown
Hunt	William	Essex	Unknown
Hunt	William	West Midlands	Unknown
Hunter	T	London	Unknown
Hurlock	Jos	London	Unknown
Hutchinson	Bury	London	Unknown
Hutchinson	Isaac	London	Unknown
Hutson	Henry	London	Unknown
Hynam	William	London	Unknown
Ind	Edward	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Inglis	Hugh	London	Unknown
Inglis	John	London	Unknown
Irton	Edmund Lamplugh	Cumbria	Unknown
Isaac	Elias	Worcestershire	Unknown
Iselin	J Luke	Norfolk	Unknown
Iselin	Jo Fredrick	London	Unknown
Isherwood	Thomas	London	Unknown
Ives	Jeremiah	Norfolk	Unknown
Izod	Thomas	London	Unknown
Jackson	Abraham	London	Unknown
Jackson	James	London	Unknown
Jackson	Jo	Suffolk	Unknown
Jackson	Jos	London	Unknown
Jackson	Samuel	London	Unknown
Jacobs	William	London	Unknown
Jameson	Robert	London	Unknown
Jaques	J	Warwickshire	Reverend
Jarman	Margaret	London	Female
Jarratt	Robert	Unknown	Reverend

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Jeffreys	John	Somerset	Unknown
Jelf	James	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Jennings	Jo Wingate	Bedfordshire	Unknown
Jobling	John	London	Unknown
Johnson	Andrew	London	Unknown
Johnson	Anne	Leicestershire	Female
Johnson	Elizabeth	Leicestershire	Female
Johnson	Sarah	Leicestershire	Female
Johnson	Sarah	Leicestershire	Female
Jones	Evan Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Jones	John	Unknown	Unknown
Jones	Thomas	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Jones	Thomas	London	Unknown
Jones	William	London	Unknown
Jones	William	Surrey	Reverend
Jones	William	Unknown	Unknown
Jordan	John	Hampshire	Unknown
Joscelyn	Martha	Essex	Female
Joseph	R	London	Unknown
Jowett	Jos	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Joyce	Joshua	Essex	Unknown
Judd	Joseph	London	Unknown
Kaye	Benjamin	Yorkshire	Unknown
Kemble	Edward	London	Unknown
Kemble	Francis	London	Unknown
Kemble	Jo	London	Unknown
Kemp	Jo	Southwark	Unknown
Kennedy	Thomas	Lancashire	Reverend
Kerrish	John	East Anglia	Unknown
Kett	Thomas	Norfolk	Unknown
Keyfall	John	London	Unknown
Keyfer	Assur	London	Unknown
King	Edward	London	Unknown
King	Isaac	Buckinghamshire	Unknown
King	John	Dorset	Unknown
King	Richard	Unknown	Reverend
King	Samuel	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Kinglake	Robert	London	Unknown
Kingsbury	William	Unknown	Reverend
Kingston	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Kingston	George	Cork	Merchant and Canal Builder
Kingston	Robert	London	Unknown
Kingston	Stephen	Unknown	Unknown
Kinnaird	Rt. Hon. George	London	Member of Parliament
Kittmer	Benjamin	East Anglia	Unknown
Knies	Andrew	London	Unknown
Knight	Edward	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Knight	William	London	Unknown
Knipe	Robert	London	Unknown
Knowles	Henry	London	Unknown
Kohn	George Lewis	London	Unknown
Laforest	William	London	Unknown
Lambard	Multon	Kent	Unknown
Lambe	William	London	Unknown
Lane	Timothy	London	Unknown
Lanfear	Amb	London	Unknown
Langston	S	London	Unknown
Langston	William	London	Unknown
Lardner	Jo	London	Unknown
Latham	Charles	Unknown	Unknown
Launder	Abraham Collin	Nottinghamshire	Reverend
Law	James	London	Unknown
Lawford	Samuel	Unknown	Unknown
Lawrence	Effingham	London	Unknown
Lawrence	J Towers	West Midlands	Unknown
Lawrence	Richard	London	Unknown
Layton	John	London	Unknown
Leach	John	London	Unknown
Leathley	John	London	Unknown
Lee	Richard	London	Unknown
Leech	Timothy	London	Unknown
Legard	Frances	Yorkshire	Female
Leigh	William	Somerset	Reverend
Lettice	John	Sussex	Reverend
Leverton	Thomas	London	Unknown
Levett	William	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Lewis	Edward	London	Unknown
Lewis	Hannah	London	Female
Lievre	Peter	London	Reverend
Lilckindey	George	Unknown	Unknown
Lindo	Moses	London	Unknown
Lloyd	Ann	Yorkshire	Female
Lloyd	Daniel	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Lloyd	Edward	London	Member of Parliament
Lloyd	Gamaliel	Sussex	Unknown
Lloyd	Nathaniel	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Lock	John	London	Unknown
Lock	Robert	Unknown	Reverend
Lockwood	Thomas	London	Unknown
Loggen	Thomas B	London	Unknown
Lomas	Henry	Oxfordshire	Reverend
London	B. Porteus	London	Doctor
Longridge	Michael	Tyne and Wear	Banker
Loseby	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Lous(f)ada	If. Baruch	Devonshire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Lucas	Matthew	London	Unknown
Lucas	Robert St John	Somerset	Unknown
Ludlam	William	London	Unknown
Lum	Aubrey Joseph	London	Unknown
Lum	Mary	London	Female
Lushington	William	London	Member of Parliament
Luttrel	Fr Fownes	London	Unknown
Lyon	Benjamin	London	Lawyer
Macauley	Auley	Leicestershire	Reverend
Machell	Chr	Yorkshire	Unknown
Mackay	Alex George	London	Unknown
Macmurdo	Edward Longdon	London	Unknown
Macreth	Robert	London	Unknown
Maddox	William	Unknown	Unknown
Mainwaring	Ann	Cambridgeshire	Female
Mair	John	London	Unknown
Mallet	Charles	Unknown	Unknown
Mallet	John	Unknown	Unknown
Mallet	Martha	London	Female
Mallet	Patty	Unknown	Female
Mallet	Phillip	London	Unknown
Mallet	Phillip jr	Unknown	Unknown
Maltby	Thomas	London	Unknown
Manning	George	Exeter	Unknown
Manning	James	Exeter	Reverend
Manning	Jo	Buckinghamshire	Reverend
Manning	Mary	Exeter	Female
Manning	Miss Mary	Exeter	Female
Manning	Sam	Buckinghamshire	Unknown
Manning	Thomas	Devonshire	Unknown
Mansfield	James	Leicestershire	Unknown
Mansfield	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Mansfield	John jr	Leicestershire	Unknown
Mansfield	Sarah	Derbyshire	Female
Marriot	Richard	London	Unknown
Marriot	William	London	Unknown
Martin	Amb	London	Unknown
Martin	Mrs	London	Female
Martindale	James	London	Unknown
Martineau	Philip Meadows	Norfolk	Unknown
Maseres	Fran	London	Unknown
Mason	George	Leicestershire	Reverend
Mason	John	London	Unknown
Mason	John	London	Unknown
Mason	William	Yorkshire	Reverend
Mather	Benjamin	Unknown	Unknown
Mather	Jo	London	Unknown
Matthew	Anthony	London	Reverend

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Matthews	Mary	Oxfordshire	Female
Maud	James Joseph	London	Unknown
Maver	Jo	London	Unknown
Maw	Jo	Lincolnshire	Unknown
May	John	Essex	Unknown
Mayelstone	James	London	Unknown
Maynard	Thomas	London	Unknown
Maynard	Thomas	Sussex	Unknown
Mayow	Winnel	Unknown	Unknown
Mazzanti	Ferdinand	Oxfordshire	Unknown
Meggitt	John	Yorkshire	Unknown
Meilish	John	London	Unknown
Meilish	William	London	Unknown
Meller	John	Lancashire	Unknown
Mercer	William	London	Unknown
Mestaer	Peter Everitt	Unknown	Unknown
Metcalfe	Bilton	London	Unknown
Mexted	John	London	Unknown
Meyer	Herman	London	Unknown
Meyer	James	London	Unknown
Meyer	John	London	Unknown
Meyer	Miss Catherine	London	Female
Meymott	William	London	Unknown
Mildred	Daniel	London	Unknown
Mildred	Thomas	East Anglia	Unknown
Miles	Richard	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Miles	Robert	London	Unknown
Milford	Samuel Frederick	Exeter	Unknown
Millard	Charles	Norfolk	Reverend
Miller	Frederick	London	Unknown
Miller	Jo	London	Unknown
Millikin	H Benson	London	Unknown
Mills	John	Sussex	Unknown
Milner	Jos	London	Unknown
Milnes	James jr	Berkshire	Unknown
Milnes	Mary Ann	Berkshire	Female
Minshull	William	London	Unknown
Mitchell	George	London	Unknown
Mitchell	John	London	Unknown
Mitchell	William	London	Sea Captain
Mitchell	William	London	Unknown
Mitchell	William	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Moncrief	R. Scott	Glasgow	Unknown
Montague	Charles	London	Unknown
Montague	Matthew	Lancashire	Member of Parliament
Moore	Ann	Leicestershire	Female
Moore	Edward	London	Unknown
Moore	Elizabeth	Leicestershire	Female



Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Moore	George	Wilshire	Unknown
Moore	Jo	Leicestershire	Reverend
Moore	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Moore	John jr	Leicestershire	Unknown
Moore	Peter	London	Unknown
Moore	William	London	Unknown
More	Hannah	Somerset	Female
Moreton	William	London	Unknown
Morin	Ann Salome	London	Female
Morley	William	London	Unknown
Morley	William jr	London	Unknown
Morris	John	Nottinghamshire	Unknown
Morris	Thomas	London	Unknown
Morrit	Frances	Yorkshire	Female
Morton	Archibald	Unknown	Unknown
Morton	Frances	Essex	Female
Mucklow	Horatio	London	Unknown
Muncaster	Lord	Cumbria	Member of Parliament
Munnings	Chr	London	Unknown
Naimbanna	Henry Granville	Sierra Leona	Son of King Naimbanna
Nash	Stephen	Bristol	Member of Parliament
Nash	William	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Nautes	Henry	London	Unknown
Neale	Henrietta	Bedfordshire	Female
Neale	James	London	Unknown
Neale	John	London	Unknown
Neale	Leonora Mary Ann	Bedfordshire	Female
Neate	John	Wiltshire	Unknown
Nelson	Elizabeth	Yorkshire	Female
Nesbitt	Thomas	London	Unknown
Newbald	Robert	Unknown	Unknown
Newberry	Rachael	London	Female
Newnham	Thomas	London	Unknown
Newton	Jo	London	Reverend
Newton	John	London	Unknown
Newton	Sam	Norfolk	Reverend
Nicholls	Sarah	Worcestershire	Female
Nichols	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Nicholson	Joseph	Unknown	Unknown
Nind	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Nisbett	Samuel	London	Unknown
Nixon	John	London	Unknown
Norden	Abraham	Essex	Unknown
Nottidge	Thomas	Essex	Unknown
Nourse	Joseph	London	Unknown
Oakley	William	London	Unknown
Ogburn	Richard	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Olding	John	London	Unknown
Onley	Charles	Essex	Reverend
Orange	John Baptist	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Osborn	William M D	London	Unknown
Othen	Isaac	London	Unknown
Overend	Joshua	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Pack	Richard	London	Unknown
Padman	Isaac	London	Unknown
Painter	William	Bristol	Unknown
Panter	William	London	Unknown
Pares	Mary	Leicestershire	Female
Pares	Mrs	Leicestershire	Female
Parker	George	Staffordshire	Unknown
Parker	John Kennet	London	Unknown
Parker	Joseph	Suffolk	Unknown
Parker	Phillis	London	Female
Parkinson	John	London	Unknown
Parkinson	John	London	Reverend
Parnell	John	Dublin	Member of Parliament
Parry	Isaac	London	Unknown
Parsons	William	London	Unknown
Patten	John	Oxfordshire	Unknown
Patteson	Henry	Unknown	Reverend
Patteson	Martha	Norfolk	Female
Pattison	John	Glasgow	Unknown
Pattison	John	Norfolk	Unknown
Pattison	Joseph	Essex	Unknown
Pattle	Thomas	London	Unknown
Paulin	John	London	Unknown
Paxton	Chr	London	Unknown
Payne	Michael	Leicestershire	Unknown
Pead	Ann	East Yorkshire	Female
Pead	B	London	Unknown
Peake	George	Leicestershire	Unknown
Pearsale	Nicholas	Worcestershire	Unknown
Pearson	James	London	Unknown
Pearson	Michael	London	Unknown
Peckard	Peter	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Peckover	Edmund	Yorkshire	Unknown
Peckover	Jonathan	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Pell	Albert	London	Unknown
Perring	John	London	Unknown
Perry	Philip	London	Unknown
Peters	George	London	Unknown
Phene	Nicholas	London	Unknown
Philipson	Nicholas	Unknown	Unknown
Phillips	Nathaniel	Suffolk	Reverend
Phillips	Thomas	Staffordshire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Phyn	James	London	Unknown
Pickering	Thomas	County Durham	Solicitor
Pierse	Henry	Yorkshire	Member of Parliament
Pies (f)chell	Charles	London	Unknown
Pilliner	James	London	Unknown
Pingo	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Pingo	Walter	London	Unknown
Plowes	John	Yorkshire	Unknown
Plumbtre	Jo	Kent	Unknown
Plummer	Robert	East Anglia	Unknown
Plymley	Jos	Unknown	Reverend
Polhill	Elizabeth	Kent	Female
Pollard	William	London	Unknown
Popham	William	London	Banker and Merchant
Popkin	John	Unknown	Unknown
Porter	Joseph	London	Unknown
Potter	Samuel	London	Unknown
Potts	Charles	Cheshire	Unknown
Powell	Baden	London	Unknown
Powell	David jr	London	Unknown
Powell	James	London	Unknown
Powell	John Clark	London	Unknown
Pratt	Charles	Unknown	Unknown
Pratt	John	Unknown	Unknown
Pratt	John jr	Unknown	Unknown
Pratt	Joseph Stephen	Yorkshire	Unknown
Prest	Edward	Yorkshire	Unknown
Preston	Jane	London	Female
Preston	Thomas	London	Unknown
Price	Charles	London	Unknown
Price	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Price	Robert	London	Unknown
Price	Thomas	London	Unknown
Prickett	Joseph	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Prideaux	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Prideaux	Thomas	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Prime	Richard	Middlesex	Unknown
Prinsep	John	London	Unknown
Pritzler	Theophilus	London	Unknown
Pryce	Edward	Middlesex	Unknown
Pryce	Thomas	London	Unknown
Puddicombe	John Newell	London	Reverend
Puddicombe	Thomas	Essex	Reverend
Pugh	David Heron	Unknown	Unknown
Pugh	Joseph	London	Unknown
Puller	Mary	Leicestershire	Female
Puller	Miss Mary	Leicestershire	Female
Pulley	Joseph	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Raby	George	London	Unknown
Rackett	Thomas	Unknown	Reverend
Rae	John	London	Unknown
Raikes	Thomas	London	Unknown
Randall	Edward	Cambridgeshire	Unknown
Raper	Ellen	London	Female
Raper	Matthew	London	Unknown
Rastall	William	Unknown	Reverend
Rathbone	William	Unknown	Unknown
Raw	Matthew	London	Unknown
Rawdon	William	London	Unknown
Rawlings	Thomas	Cornwall	Unknown
Rawlings	William	Cornwall	Unknown
Rawlinson	William	London	Unknown
Rawson	Samuel	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Rawson	William	London	Unknown
Ray	Orbel	Suffolk	Reverend
Raybould	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Rea	John	Unknown	Unknown
Reddal	Richard Ambrose	Bedfordshire	Unknown
Reeve	Edward	London	Unknown
Reeve	Frances	London	Female
Reeve	Joseph	London	Unknown
Rennard	Joseph	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Revell	George	London	Unknown
Reymes	Sam	London	Unknown
Reynolds	Forster	Surrey	Unknown
Reynolds	William	Kent	Unknown
Reynolds	William	Shropshire	Unknown
Richard	Sam	London	Unknown
Richards	John	Leicestershire	Unknown
Richardson	Hannah	East Yorkshire	Female
Richardson	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Richardson	Thomas	Yorkshire	Unknown
Rickards	Robert	Unknown	Reverend
Rickards	Thomas	London	Unknown
Ridley	John	London	Unknown
Ridsdale	William	London	Unknown
Ripley	John Richard	London	Unknown
Roberts	Daniel	London	Unknown
Roberts	Henry	Gloucestershire	Reverend
Roberts	Henry jr	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Roberts	W H D D	Surrey	Reverend
Robins	John	Unknown	Unknown
Robinson	Charles	Unknown	Unknown
Robinson	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Robinson	John	London	Reverend
Rodwell	Thomas	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Rogers	Charles	London	Unknown
Rogers	John	Unknown	Unknown
Rogers	Samuel	London	Unknown
Rose	Frances	Surrey	Female
Rose	Richard	Surrey	Unknown
Rose	William Lucas	Northamptonshire	Reverend
Ross	Abraham	London	Unknown
Ross	Henrietta	Unknown	Female
Ross	Hercules	Unknown	Unknown
Ross	James Tyrell	London	Unknown
Ross	William	London	Unknown
Rosser	Richard	London	Unknown
Rowcroft	Thomas	London	Unknown
Rowe	John	London	Unknown
Rowe	John	Unknown	Reverend
Rowe	Sarah	Carmarthenshire	Female
Rumsey	Henry jr	Buckinghamshire	Unknown
Russel	Sarah Gill	Unknown	Female
Rutland	William	London	Unknown
Rutton	Thomas	London	Unknown
Ryder	Dudley	London	Member of Parliament
Sage	Edward	London	Unknown
Salloway	Samuel	Unknown	Unknown
Salmon		East Anglia	Reverend
Salte	William	London	Unknown
Samler	Herman	London	Unknown
Sansom	Phillip	London	Reverend
Sargeant	Edward jr	Unknown	Unknown
Sargeant	George Edward	Unknown	Unknown
Sargeant	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Sargeant	Jonah	London	Unknown
Sarney	Elizabeth	London	Female
Satchell		London	Unknown
Savage	Ann	Middlesex	Female
Savill	Jos	Essex	Unknown
Savill	William	London	Unknown
Schneider	Jo Nicholas	London	Unknown
Scholefield	Radcliffe	West Midlands	Reverend
Scholey	George	London	Unknown
Schooling	James	London	Unknown
Schroder	Herman	London	Unknown
Scotney	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Scott	George	London	Unknown
Scott	Hugh	London	Unknown
Scott	Jo	London	Unknown
Scott	R	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Scott	Thomas	London	Unknown
Seale	David	Surrey	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Searle	James	London	Unknown
Secker	Roger	Unknown	Unknown
Secretan	Fred	Unknown	Unknown
Sells	Edward	London	Unknown
Sergeant	William	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Shaw	James	London	Unknown
Shaw	William	London	Reverend
Shears	James	London	Unknown
Shelton	Thomas	London	Unknown
Shepherd	H	Yorkshire	Reverend
Shepherd	William	London	Unknown
Sheppard	Edward	London	Unknown
Sheppard	Thomas	London	Unknown
Shore	Bohum	Unknown	Unknown
Shore	Sam	Unknown	Unknown
Shore	Sam jr	Unknown	Unknown
Shores	William	London	Unknown
Short	Bartholmew	Unknown	Unknown
Shuttleworth	H Raynes	London	Unknown
Sibbald	George	London	Unknown
Sibley	Mary	London	Female
Sibley	Sarah	London	Female
Sikes	Jo	London	Unknown
Simeon	Ch	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Simpson	David	Cheshire	Reverend
Simpson	James Warne	London	Unknown
Simpson	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Simpson	William Wooley	East Anglia	Unknown
Skirrow	William	London	Unknown
Skrimshire	William	Unknown	Unknown
Slack	Thomas	London	Unknown
Slade	Daniel	London	Unknown
Slade	Elizabeth	Sussex	Female
Slade	Mary	Sussex	Female
Slann	James	London	Unknown
Slater	Adam	Derbyshire	Unknown
Slovan	William	London	Unknown
Smales	Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Smalley	William	Unknown	Unknown
Smart	Richard	London	Unknown
Smith	Dr Sam	London	Reverend
Smith	Drummond	London	Unknown
Smith	Francis	Norfolk	Unknown
Smith	Isaac	London	Unknown
Smith	James	London	Unknown
Smith	James	Norfolk	Unknown
Smith	James Ed M D	London	Unknown
Smith	Jo	Gloucestershire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Smith	Jo	London	Unknown
Smith	Jo	Norfolk	Reverend
Smith	John Fred	Yorkshire	Unknown
Smith	Josa	London	Unknown
Smith	Martin Fred	London	Unknown
Smith	Mrs	Unknown	Female
Smith	Robert	Hertfordshire	Unknown
Smith	Robert	Oxfordshire	Unknown
Smith	Robert	Unknown	Unknown
Smith	Samuel	Nottinghamshire	Unknown
Smith	Thomas	London	Unknown
Smith	Thomas	London	Unknown
Smith	Thomas	London	Unknown
Smith	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Smith	Wildman	London	Unknown
Smith	William	London	Unknown
Smithus	Henry	London	Unknown
Smyth	Jo	London	Unknown
Sneyd	Edward	Staffordshire	Unknown
Sneyd	Jo	Staffordshire	Unknown
Solly	Richard	Unknown	Unknown
Sparke	Joseph	London	Unknown
Sparrow	Bence	London	Reverend
Speanger	Jo	London	Unknown
Spear	Robert	London	Unknown
Spencer	Earl Joseph	London	Unknown
Spencer	Jo	London	Unknown
Stanhope	Mary Spencer	Yorkshire	Female
Stanhope	Walter Spencer	Yorkshire	Unknown
Staniforth	Ch	London	Unknown
Statham	Samuel	Nottinghamshire	Unknown
Steel	David	Unknown	Unknown
Steele	Jos	London	Unknown
Steele	Jos	London	Unknown
Stephens	Merret	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Stephenson	Richard	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Stevens	Robert	London	Unknown
Stewart	Jo Tiffin	London	Unknown
Stiff	Thomas	London	Unknown
Stillingfleet	J	Yorkshire	Reverend
Stokes	Ed	Leicestershire	Unknown
Stokes	Henry	London	Unknown
Stokes	Major Edward	Leicestershire	Unknown
Stonard	Nathaniel	Middlesex	Unknown
Stone	Jo	London	Unknown
Stone	Jo Huford	London	Unknown
Stonehouse	Jo	Lancashire	Unknown
Storace	Stephen	London	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Stott	Ely	London	Unknown
Stovin	James	Unknown	Unknown
Stovin	Theodosia	Yorkshire	Female
Tracey	Randolph	London	Unknown
Strangman	Ann	Staffordshire	Female
Stratton	Gibson, and Sconberg	London	Unknown
Stratton	Sam jr	London	Unknown
Stratton	Thomas	London	Unknown
Strickland	Edward	London	Unknown
Strode	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Stubbing	Robert	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Stuckey	George	London	Unknown
Stuckey	Sam	Unknown	Unknown
Stutfield	Charles	London	Unknown
Styleman	Nicholas	Norfolk	Unknown
Sutton	Benjamin	Leicestershire	Unknown
Sutton	Elizabeth	London	Female
Sutton	James	Wiltshire	Unknown
Sutton	Jo	London	Unknown
Sutton	Martha	Wiltshire	Female
Sutton	Robert	London	Unknown
Sutton	Sarah	Wiltshire	Female
Sutton	William	London	Unknown
Swaine	Robert	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Swale	Jo	London	Unknown
Swan	William	Lancashire	Unknown
Sykes	Jos	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Sykes	Mary Ann	Yorkshire	Female
Sykes	Mrs W	Yorkshire	Female
Syms	James Renat	London	Unknown
Tabor	Robert	Essex	Unknown
Tailer	Jo Bayly	Suffolk	Unknown
Tayler	Thomas	London	Unknown
Taylor	Benjamin	Unknown	Unknown
Taylor	Gawan	Unknown	Unknown
Taylor	George	London	Unknown
Taylor	Isaac	London	Unknown
Taylor	Jo	London	Unknown
Taylor	Jos	East Anglia	Unknown
Taylor	Meadows	East Anglia	Unknown
Taylor	Walter	Unknown	Unknown
Taylor	William	London	Unknown
Taylor	William	Norfolk	Unknown
Templeman	Mrs Cather	London	Female
Terrington	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Terrington	William	London	Unknown
Terry	Richard	East Yorkshire	Unknown



Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Thompson	Achieson	Ireland	Unknown
Thompson	Isaac	Unknown	Unknown
Thompson	Isaac	Unknown	Unknown
Thompson	James	London	Unknown
Thompson	Jo	Surrey	Unknown
Thompson	Thomas	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Thompson	William	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Thompson	William	London	Unknown
Thompson		Surrey	Reverend
Thorn	Abraham	London	Unknown
Thornton	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Thorold	Frances	Lincolnshire	Female
Thorold	Mary	London	Female
Thorp	Abraham	London	Unknown
Thorpe	Anthony	Yorkshire	Unknown
Tigh	Robert Stearne	Hampshire	Unknown
Tigncombe	Jo	Devon	Unknown
Tiler	John	London	Unknown
Tilfey	William	London	Unknown
Tindall	James	Unknown	Unknown
Tingcombe	Jonathan	Devon	Unknown
Tolcien	Daniel Gotlieb	London	Unknown
Tomkins	Benjamin	London	Unknown
Tomkins	Jo	Berkshire	Builder
Tomkins	John William	London	Unknown
Tomkins	Jos	Berkshire	Builder
Tomkins	William	Berkshire	Builder
Tomkins	William jr	Berkshire	Builder
Toogood	William	Dorset	Unknown
Toplis	Jo	Derbyshire	Unknown
Torkington	James	Unknown	Unknown
Torkington	William	Unknown	Unknown
Towle	Jos	London	Unknown
Townfend	Richard	London	Unknown
Townley	James	London	Unknown
Townsend	Edward	London	Unknown
Trigge	Jo	Somerset	Sea Captain
Tritton	Jo Hinton	London	Unknown
Trump	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Trye	CH Brandon	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Tucker	Thomas	London	Unknown
Tuffen	Jo Furnell	London	Unknown
Tulk	Jo Aug	Westminster	Unknown
Tupper	John Elisha	Guernsey	Ship Owner & Merchant
Turnbull	Jo	London	Unknown
Turner	Baptist Noel	Lincolnshire	Reverend
Turner	Dorothy	London	Female
Turner	Josa	Yorkshire	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Turner	Thomas	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Turney	William	London	Unknown
Tutin	William	West Midlands	Unknown
Twining	Jo	London	Unknown
Twining	Richard	London	Unknown
Tylee	John	Wiltshire	Unknown
Tylee	William	Lincolnshire	Unknown
Valpy	David	Unknown	Reverend
Vaux	Edward	London	Merchant and Insurer
Venn	Edward	London	Unknown
Vincent	Zelophehad Wyeth	Unknown	Unknown
Vulliamy	Lewis	London	Unknown
Waddington	Jo	Unknown	Unknown
Wadstrom	Ch B	Lancashire	Unknown
Wagstaffe	Jo	Norfolk	Unknown
Wainman	Richard B A	Unknown	Reverend
Wainman	William	Yorkshire	Unknown
Walford	Jo	London	Unknown
Walker	Jonathan	Unknown	Unknown
Walker	Jos	Unknown	Unknown
Walker	Richard	London	Unknown
Walker	Sam	Unknown	Unknown
Walker	Thomas	Bristol	Unknown
Walker	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown
Walker	William	London	Unknown
Walker	William	London	Unknown
Wallaston	Jo Hyde	Cambridgeshire	Reverend
Wallaston	John	London	Unknown
Wallford	Jo	London	Unknown
Wallis	Peter	London	Unknown
Walrond	Elizabeth	Exeter	Female
Walsh	Francis	London	Unknown
Walton	Jo	London	Unknown
Walton	Pearson	London	Unknown
Walton	William	London	Unknown
Wanfey	George	Unknown	Unknown
Ward	Archer	London	Unknown
Ward	Henry William	London	Unknown
Ware	James	London	Unknown
Waring	Jos	Unknown	Unknown
Waring	Sam	Gloucestershire	Unknown
Warne	James	London	Unknown
Warne	James	London	Unknown
Warner	Dr. Jo	Wiltshire	Reverend
Warner	Jo	London	Unknown
Warner	Richard	Leicestershire	Unknown
Warren	Erasmus	London	Reverend

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Warren	Mary Domet	London	Female
Warren	Peter	Unknown	Unknown
Warren	Sam	London	Unknown
Warriner	George	London	Unknown
Wathen	Jonah	Unknown	Unknown
Watkinson	Sam	Sussex	Unknown
Watley	William	London	Unknown
Watson	Ann	Shropshire	Female
Watson	Christopher	London	Unknown
Watson	G	Shropshire	Unknown
Watson	George	Norfolk	Unknown
Watson	Jacob Kruger	London	Unknown
Watson	Jo	London	Unknown
Watson	Jo	Norfolk	Unknown
Watson	Josa	London	Unknown
Watts	David Pike	Unknown	Unknown
Watts	Jo	London	Unknown
Waugh	Jos	London	Unknown
Weaver	Francis	Somerset	Unknown
Webb	Jos	London	Unknown
Webber	Dorothy	London	Female
Webber	James	London	Unknown
Webster	Jude	London	Unknown
Wedgewood	Jo	Staffordshire	Unknown
Weed	Sam	London	Unknown
Welch	Sam	London	Unknown
Wellford	Jo	London	Unknown
Wells	Jos	Surrey	Unknown
Wells	Peter	London	Unknown
Welsford	Jo	Devonshire	Unknown
West	James	Surrey	Unknown
Whalley	Daniel	Unknown	Unknown
Whalley	Thomas	London	Unknown
Whishaw	Hugh	London	Unknown
Whitacre	John	West Yorkshire	Unknown
Whitaker	Ann	Essex	Female
Whitaker	David	London	Unknown
White	Lawrence	London	Unknown
White	Richard	London	Unknown
White	William	London	Unknown
Whitehead	Jo	London	Unknown
Whitelock	William	Yorkshire	Unknown
Whiting	Matthew	London	Unknown
Whittaker	Penelope	London	Female
Whittenbury	Jo	Lancashire	Unknown
Whitty	Sarah	Dorset	Female
Wicke	George	London	Unknown
Wickens	Reh Aaron	Essex	Unknown

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Wild	John	London	Unknown
Wild	Richard	London	Unknown
Wilding	R	Shropshire	Reverend
Wilkinson	George	Dublin	Unknown
Wilkinson	James	Unknown	Reverend
Wilkinson	Rebec	Surrey	Female
Wilkinson	Rebecca	London	Female
Williams	J	Devonshire	Reverend
Williams	Jo	London	Unknown
Williams	Jo	London	Unknown
Williams	Jo Casely	Exeter	Unknown
Williams	John	London	Unknown
Williams	T	London	Unknown
Williamson	Joshua	London	Unknown
Williamson	Matthew	Yorkshire	Unknown
Willington	Jo	London	Unknown
Willis	James	London	Unknown
Willis	John	London	Unknown
Wilmhurst	S	Essex	Reverend
Wilson	Benjamin	Unknown	Unknown
Wilson	George	London	Unknown
Wilson	Jane	Middlesex	Female
Wilson	Jos	London	Unknown
Wilson	Mary	London	Female
Wilson	Stephen	Middlesex	Unknown
Wilson	Stephen	Unknown	Unknown
Wilson	Thomas	London	Unknown
Wilson	Thomas	London	Unknown
Wilson	Thomas	London	Unknown
Wilson	William	London	Unknown
Wilson	William	London	Unknown
Wilson	William	Unknown	Unknown
Wilson	William jr	Unknown	Unknown
Wilts	Broome P	London	Unknown
Wiltshire	George	London	Unknown
Windeatt	Sam Milford	Unknown	Unknown
Winter	Benjamin	Yorkshire	Unknown
Winter	Sam jr	Yorkshire	Unknown
Wishaw	Jo	London	Unknown
Witte	Ludeig	London	Unknown
Witton	Matthew	London	Unknown
Wolff	Ernest F	London	Unknown
Wolff	Jens	London	Unknown
Wolff	Maria Ann	London	Female
Wontmer	John	Unknown	Unknown
Wood	Henry	Leicestershire	Unknown
Wood	John	East Yorkshire	Unknown
Wood	William	Leicestershire	Reverend

Surname	First Name	Shire of Residence	Occupation or Distinction
Woodall	Elizabeth	Unknown	Female
Woodhouse	James	London	Unknown
Worley	Joshua	London	Unknown
Wray	Sir Cecil	London	Unknown
Wrench	J G	London	Unknown
Wrench	Jacob	London	Unknown
Wright	Alex	Kent	Unknown
Wright	Dan	Bristol	Unknown
Wright	William	London	Unknown
Wroe	Ann	Cheshire	Female
Wroughton	William	Middlesex	Unknown
Wyatt	Robert	London	Unknown
Wyvill	Christopher	Yorkshire	Reverend
Yardley	Samuel	Unknown	Unknown
Yarker	John	Devonshire	Unknown
Yates	Jo	Unknown	Reverend
Yerbury	John jr	London	Banker
Young	Joshua	Unknown	Unknown
Young	William	London	Unknown

## Appendix D

First Chart of Articles showing the breadth and continuous nature of newspaper coverage of the multiple Liberian colonies from 1817 to 1863. Second shows the breakdown by geographical area with the corresponding year. Taken from data compiled from 54 British papers searched for direct discussions of American recolonization in Liberia and 147 US newspapers searched for positive articles about Liberian recolonization. An additional 10,230 newspapers are found in my data collection that are either not clearly supportive of recolonization or that only mention colonization as part of another discussion; sourced from newspaperarchive.com, newspapers.com, and britishnewspaperarchive.com. Information gleaned from this chart is referred to in chapters 1, 5, 6, and 7.

Year	USA Articles in support of Liberian Colonization	Uk Articles discussing Liberian Colonization
1817	45	
1818	32	
1819	36	5
1820	28	4
1821	16	1
1822	3	0
1823	13	1
1824	18	0
1825	29	1
1826	37	1
1827	50	7
1828	45	0
1829	56	4
1830	52	3
1831	60	12
1832	132	60
1833	169	56
1834	114	12
1835	96	4
1836	64	3
1837	69	2
1838	75	4
1839	100	2
1840	77	12
1841	62	20
1842	65	5
1843	64	1
1844	81	3
1845	104	8
1846	110	7
1847	84	4
1848	163	20

Year	USA Articles in support of Liberian Colonization	Uk Articles discussing Liberian Colonization
1849	200	9
1850	272	15
1851	371	37
1852	480	21
1853	489	32
1854	264	19
1855	176	9
1856	184	15
1857	160	10
1858	252	45
1859	175	7
1860	212	13
1861	127	45
1862	232	82
1863	53	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>5751</b>	<b>633</b>

Year	AL	AR	CA	CT	DE	DC	FL	GA	IL	IN	IA	KS	KY	LA	ME	MD	MA	MI	MN	MS	MO	NE	NJ	NY	NC	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	TN	TX	UT	VT	VA	WI	Canada	England	Ireland	Scotland	Total
1818				1												5								8	2				12					2	2						32	
1819				1												3				1	1			4	3				20		2									1		36
1820				1									1	1		2	1				1			5	4				6		1	1								4	1	29
1821		1		1										1		1								2	1				7		2								3	1	20	
1822																													3										1		4	
1823					1								1	1										1	3				4		1	1										13
1824	1				1									1			1							1	3				8		1	1							1			19
1825	1	1			1											1					1			6	7				11		11	3			15							58
1826		2		2	1								3			1	3				2	1		3	15				23		3	6			16					1		82
1827				3	3								12			6	4						2	2		5	10	2		38		7	1			19					1	113
1828	4			5	1								2			4					6	1		5	9	2			16		5	4			41				7			112
1829				8	2			1					8			6	3				1			4	18				17		2	2			59							131
1830	1			2									3			4	3				3			7	8				25		8	7			33				3	1		108
1831				3									3			12	73				3			15	8				26		9	12			34				1	1	1	201
1832	5	1		8												10	119				3			12	3				54		14	25			72				10	1	1	338
1833	3	2		6					1	1						12	133				4	3		17	12				46		5	29			74				47	4	9	408
1834	1	1		5					2							2	124					4		4	15				47		4	14			71				52	1	3	350
1835	1	3		8			1									4	96				2	3		10	12	1			58		8	6			48	2			9		3	275
1836				5		1							3			1	23			13	3		8	6				34			2			17	1			4			121	
1837	2			2					14	5			1			3	15			18	4		12	14	4			24		6	3			28	2			1	2		160	
1838				5		36			3	2						6	59			21	5		12	6				34		4	1			39	4			0		2	239	
1839	2			12		18							6	1	1	4	52			10	6		20	11	3			26		7	3			131	1	1		1	1	1	318	
1840		1		2		23			1				4	2		8	42			17	4		23	7	1			12		10	8			41	1				1	1	209	
1841	2			3		5			1				4	3		10	46			5	5		9	13				20		4	2			34	1			3	4	5	179	
1842	1			4		4							2			7	33			3	4		20	8	1			8		6				29	1						151	
1843		1		5		10			3				5	1		6	22	1		9	7		33	7	2			10		10	1			23	4	2		3		2	167	
1844		1		1		12			3	1		1	8	3	1	12	17	1		7	3		45	3	3			19		1	8			22	2	1		0		1	176	
1845	3	1		6		19			1	5			15							11	6		1	33	9	4		15		1	7			31	4			2		1	175	
1846	1			2		7			5	3		2	10	24		33	12	2		3	5		38	2	9			5		4	1			18	4	1		4		4	199	
1847	1			4		12		1	5	1			9	7		7	9	1		7	5		27	6	4			5		2	2			32	1	3		7			158	
1848	1			8		13		1	17	8	2		18	9		23	15	2		7	13		51	14	14			29		2	7			30	4			1	2	1	292	
1849	4	2		5		26	1	2	8	4	1		30	24		29	19	3		12	6		44	19	18			32		3	23			46	10			19		1	391	
1850	3	1		3		81			8	9	4		24	38		22	11	2		14	13		80	29	26			36		3	16			41	9	8		13	1	1	496	
1851	8	5		8		139	2	2	7	28	3		36	57		35	19	5		20	3		82	29	21	3		64				12	1		49	2	15		36		1	692
1852	9	1		10		162			11	14	6		35	76		43	31	6		20	3		104	42	50			50		8	6			54	29	10		18	1	2	801	
1853	10	1		19		141		3	21	10	5		31	54		39	34	34		25	1		84	69	64		1	73		12	15			81	44	9		31		1	912	
1854	7	1		10		60			16	9	5		23	19		36	19	6		14	5		48	23	34			38		16	18			31	39	6		19			502	
1855	2	1		8		15			17	13		1	15	22		28	8	5		2	4		5	44	14	12		26	1	10	6			22	21	8		9			319	
1856	1	1	2	8	1	23			1	11	5	3	1	10	18		28	18	5		2	3	1	1	61	14	20		27		13	7			26	23	9		15			358
1857	9		1	10	2	26		5	9	1	3	4	7	9		30	15	5		1	2	2		22	23	12		23		16	10			26	25	6	1	9			314	
1858	15	2	3	7		21		8	11	4	5	2	10	21		33	19	5		10	3		2	60	54	23			30		34	26			34	41	2	2	43			530
1859	8	1	2	11		12		4	13	5	10	1	9	7		23	9	9		5	2		41	21	18		1	17	1	22	11		1	35	23	11	1	6			340	
1860	7	1	3	8		10	1		20	16	9	1	16	3		47	16	7	1	4	5		1	41	16	29		33		15	13			47	30	22		13			435	
1861	1		1	6	1	5		1	7	3	1		1	4		20	8						16	8	7			12		2	2			23	9	3		45			186	
1862			1	6	1	7			18	3	3	2	12		1	14	17	9					1	28	3	8			18		3	4			40	3	9		81		1	293
1863				1		9			6	2	1	1	4	1		3	6			1			1	7		2			8			1		28		1		17			100	